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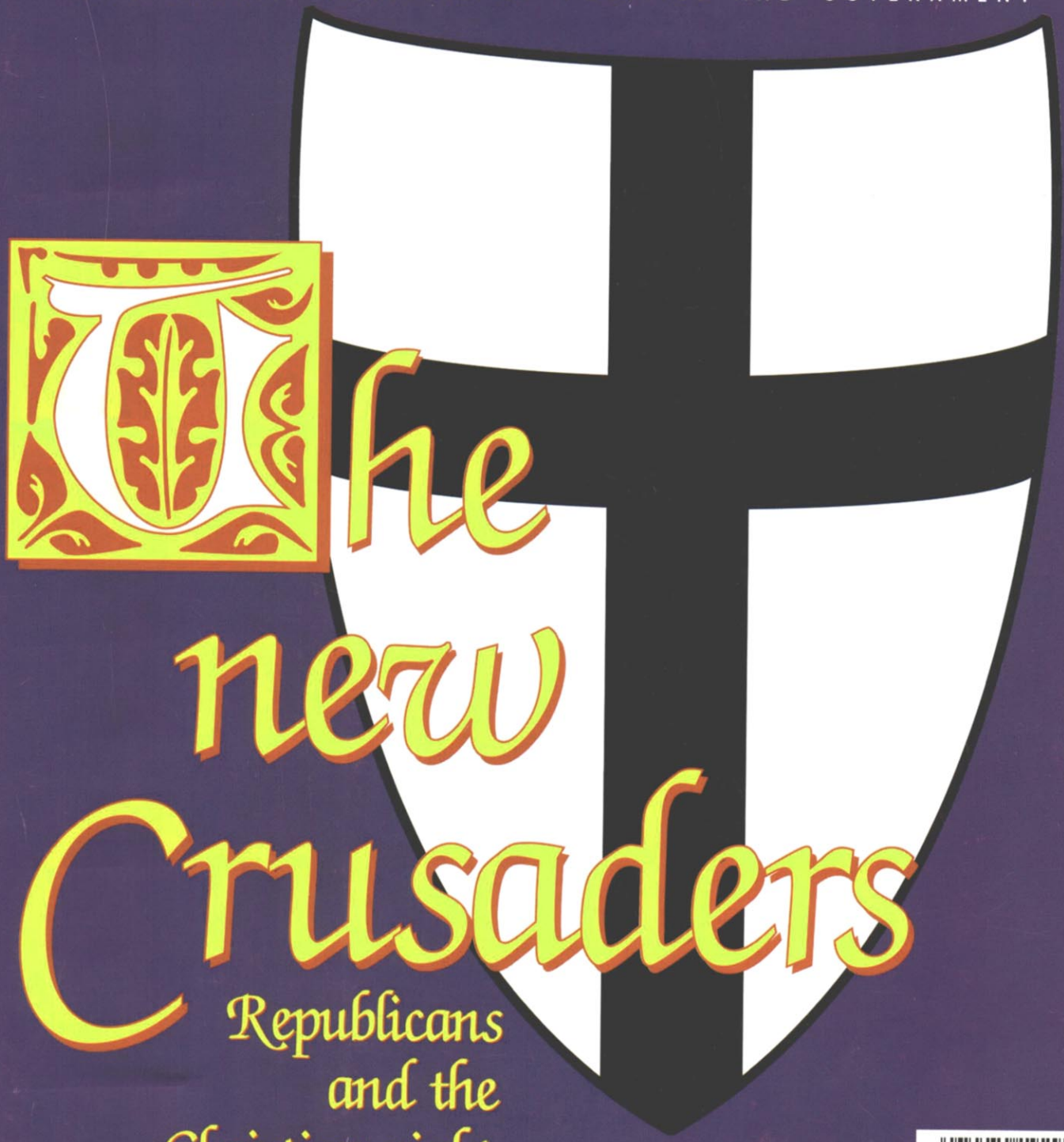

The new Crusaders

Republicans and the Christian right

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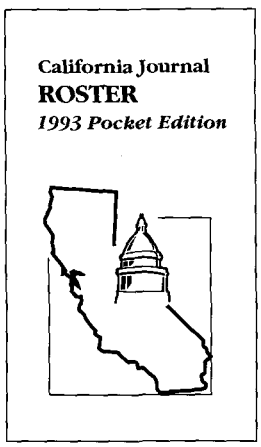

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UP FRONT

Accommodation central. That would be the 1993-94 version of the California Legislature, which opened for business last month. Fortified by four new senators and 27 new Assembly members, lawmakers returned to Sacramento — and to one of the more bizarre swearing-in/organizational ceremonies in recent memory. As expected, Assemblyman Willie Brown Jr. of San Francisco was re-elected speaker on a straight party vote, with 47 Democrats voting for him and 32 Republicans voting against. And as usual, Brown took the GOP opposition personally, telling *The Sacramento Bee*, "You don't vote for the speaker, that's a signal that you don't like the person who's speaker." The bizarre took place when freshman Republican Larry Bowler of Stockton followed through with a campaign promise to oppose Brown's nomination. Only, Bowler didn't nominate his party's leader — Jim Brulte of Ontario. The conservative Bowler, who reportedly said that he will become "Willie Brown's worst nightmare," nominated Democrat Jack O'Connell, a close ally of Brown. O'Connell's nomination died for lack of a second, although moments later, the lanky Carpinteria lawmaker was re-elected speaker pro tempore.

In his acceptance speech, Speaker Brown called for a new era of co-operation among lawmakers. Brown illustrated his version of co-operation by scrambling seating on the Assembly floor to maximize the Democrats' ability to manage floor votes and make the same task much tougher for Republicans. He also refused to seat Republican Dean Andal as vice chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. Traditionally, the GOP caucus names its lead voice on the budget, and that person becomes vice-chairman of Ways and Means. Last year, the post was held by Cathie Wright, who since has moved on to the Senate.

Meanwhile, legislative insiders say this two-year session could be more difficult and frustrating than last year. Not only must lawmakers confront yet another budget deficit, but resignations and the two-year effect of term limits and budget cutting have dealt the Legislature itself a double whammy. Last year, many of the Capitol's best and brightest staff members — including those with long experience in critical policy areas — left in the wake of budget cuts mandated by Proposition 140, the term-limit initiative. Now, several veteran lawmakers also are gone from both sides of the aisle in the Assembly, including Democrats Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento, Dick Floyd of Gardena, Tom Bane of Tarzana and Bruce Bronzan of Fresno; and Republicans Bill Baker of Concord, Bev Hansen of Santa Rosa, Bill Lancaster of Covina, Dave Kelley of Riverside and Bill Filante of Greenbrae. The loss of both longtime staff and veteran lawmakers strips the Legislature of much of its institutional memory and its expertise. The GOP caucus was particularly hard-hit, as much of the moderating influence departed. The caucus also lost its two most knowledgable parliamentarians — Baker and Tom McClintock.

John Burton's Assembly career has now come full circle. The demure, always courteous Burton served in the lower house from 1964 to 1974 when he was elected to represent San Francisco in Congress. He served in Washington from 1974 to 1982, then dropped out of politics for most of the 1980s. Burton returned to the Assembly in 1988, winning a special election to replace Democrat Art Agnos, who had been elected mayor of San Francisco. Well, in 1971 Burton was named by then-Speaker Bob Moretti to the coveted post of chairman of the Assembly Rules Committee. Twenty-two years later, Burton is back in that same saddle; when the Assembly organized for the 1993-94 session, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown named Burton as chairman of Rules. He takes over for Tom Bane, the Tarzana Democrat who did not seek re-election in 1992.

Bill Filante dies of cancer. Former Assemblyman Bill Filante, the Marin County Republican who spent his career representing a Democratic district, died of cancer December 8th. Filante, who served 14 years in the lower house, ran for Congress this year in the district that had been represented by U.S. Senator-elect Barbara Boxer. But Filante's effort was side-tracked before it began when he was diagnosed as having a brain tumor. Although his name remained on the ballot, his campaign was carried forward by surrogates, notably Assemblywoman Bev Hansen. Filante made one appearance but was too weak to speak. Despite strong Democratic registration in the 5th Congressional District, the popular Filante had been regarded as the front-runner prior to his illness. But his inability to campaign heightened concern about his ability to serve, and Filante was defeated by Democrat Lynn Woolsey.

Rick Pamplin, forgive us. Seems we left you out of our election coverage of the 25th Congressional District. Pamplin, an independent, finished a credible third behind the run-away winner, Republican Buck McKeon, and Democrat James Gilmartin. Still, Pamplin collected 13,104 votes and beat candidates from the Libertarian, Peace and Freedom and Green parties. The 25th District is a new, GOP-dominated enclave centered around Palmdale.

"No private person has any right, in any manner, to prejudice another person in his civil enjoyments, because he is of another church or religion. All the rights and franchises that belong to him as a man, or as a denison, are inviolably to be preserved to him. These are not the business of religion ... we must not content ourselves with the narrow measures of bare justice; charity, bounty and liberality must be added to it."

— John Locke on toleration

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ROSTRUM

Leonard reponds

Once again, I have been sadly misinterpreted by state Controller Gray Davis. My comments in your September issue (see "Blundering toward a budget," *CJ*, September 1992) were not, as the controller wrote in your October Rostrum, intended to encourage him to break any laws or precedents. My point was simply that, when the state lacks a budget, the state government should essentially shut down. Except for basic public safety, the government should not operate without budgetary authority. State employees should stay home and state offices should remain closed. The public outrage created by such a shutdown would create the pressure needed to force the Legislature and governor to act on a budget. Had such pressure existed this past summer, we could not have gone 62 days without a budget.

BILL LEONARD
Senator, 25th District
Redlands

Signature gathering

Your article on initiative petition circulators (see "Signing for fun and profit," *CJ*, November 1992) implies that only the Colorado courts have ruled on the practice of paying circulators to obtain signatures on petitions. The implication is incorrect. The U.S. Supreme Court has expressed its views on the subject in *Meyer v. Grant*, a June 1988 case where the Court unanimously held that a Colorado statute prohibiting the use of paid petition circulators violated the 1st and 14th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

JOHN HANLEY
Sunnyvale

Chart tricks

Shame on you. You fell for one of the oldest "statistical" tricks in the book. You published bar charts without a "zero line" (see "Children in crisis," CJ, November 1992). Both the AFDC and the community care licensing charts show dramatic changes. When viewed in proper perspective, the percentage declines are much less drastic, however. Unbiased reporting requires unbiased graphics.

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The new Crusaders

The Christian right storms California's political bastions

By Mark Nollinger

On a chilly November evening in Modesto, Republican Assembly candidate Barbara Keating-Edh paid special tribute to a key group of supporters as she awaited election returns at her campaign headquarters.

"Quite honestly, the Christian vote is going to make the difference," she told the enthusiastic crowd of volunteers, who, no less than the conservative candidate herself, fully expected a victory celebration to follow. "If we win, it's going to be because of churches turning out the Christian vote."

The religious right ended up on the wrong side in the 25th Assembly District as Keating-Edh's Sacramento dreams were narrowly dashed by liberal Democrat Margaret Snyder. Nor was Keathing-Edh the only Christian-backed conservative candidate to lose. She was joined by other pre-election favorites in high-profile races who wound up losing as well.

But a few embarrassing defeats at the ballot box do not mark the death of a movement. Christian political activists — and more significantly, their opponents — say the religious right and the conservative coalition it anchors scored enough gains to emerge from the overall GOP drubbing stronger than ever.

"Overall, we've weathered the Democratic tidal wave that swept the state," says Steve Sheldon, political director of the Orange County-based Traditional Values Coalition (TVC) and son of the group's founder, the Reverend Lou Sheldon. The numbers seem to back him up. In the first general election since Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition decided in 1988 to shift its focus from national to state and local contests, Christian-backed candidates in California won three of five key

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Mark Nollinger is a graduate student in journalism at the University of California, Berkeley.

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Illustration by Craig Schindler

congressional contests, six of 12 targeted Assembly races, and a significant number of city council and school board elections. Nationwide, candidates backed by the so-called radical right won 40 percent of the 500 races monitored by the liberal lobbying group, People for the American Way.

But it is not just new friends in Sacramento and Washington that make the religious right — or cultural conservatives, as they prefer to be called — a force to be reckoned with in California. A loose alliance of anti-abortion, anti-tax, and pro-gun groups mobilized by the evangelical Christian movement, they also have increased their hold on the California Republican Party's grass-roots infrastructure. With a few wealthy Southern California businessmen ready to bankroll candidates, the religious right and its allies are poised to promote an agenda that combines traditional GOP fiscal conservatism with opposition to abortion and gay rights, support for stricter anti-pornography laws and the teaching of creationism and allowance for prayer in public schools. But whether that agenda will play to the majority of California voters is what torments the state's Republican establishment. Nationally, GOP leaders looking to the 1996 presidential campaign are scrambling for a way to capitalize on the strength of the religious right without capitulating to its brand of social conservatism. In California, Republican leaders have more immediate concerns: congressional and state elections in 1994, including that of Governor Pete Wilson, whose popularity with voters in both parties is already at an historic low.

Political strategists who consider themselves part of the Republican mainstream worry that the right wing's potential to cast the GOP in its own image will continue to alienate middle-of-the-road voters who are crucial to the party's hopes of success at the ballot box. They contend that identification with the "cultural conservatives" haunted the party in the Golden State in November nearly as much as George Bush's request to read his lips. While acknowledging the religious right's organizational strength, they point to defeats in key races as evidence of the movement's political limitations.

"The problem is that where they come from philosophically is not where the broad base of California voters are," said Republican consultant Marty Wilson, who chaired the Bush-Quayle campaign in California. "They've got to somehow blend a bit better in the system or they will hopelessly fracture our party and keep us a minority for a long time to come."

Conservative Christian activists don't see it that way. Sara Hardman, state director of the Christian Coalition, dismisses any attempt to blame fundamentalists for Republican problems as "anti-Christian bigotry" and claims that it is moderate and liberal Republicans who are out of touch.

"Most people in the United States believe in the same moral and fiscal conservatism that we do," says Hardman. "We're the ones who got out and voted for Bush, Herschensohn and the Republican candidates. We're not out of step, they are."

An identity crisis that profound is unlikely to be resolved quickly, particularly in a state party that has a long tradition of fratricide. The real dilemma for the GOP is that while it may not be able to win with the cultural conservatives, it is far from certain that the party can win without them. Out of step or not, it is the Christians and their conservative allies who are out toiling in the trenches.

Even mainstream Republican leaders concede the religious right's ability to mobilize its supporters. "They're a tremendous resource," says Marty Wilson. "They're effective people."

continued on next page

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How effective?

Together, the Christian Coalition and the Traditional Values Coalition claim to have distributed over 4.5 million "non-partisan" voter guides through 15,000 California churches by Election Day. That network of churches, combined with Christian television and radio stations, allows the religious right to bypass the mainstream media and traditional party institutions to get its message out to the faithful. In virtually every Republican precinct in the state, Christian and conservative volunteers were registering voters, blitzing church parking lots with slate leaflets and getting people to the polls.

Those grass-roots efforts were backed up by serious money from a group of conservative Southern California businessmen with ties to the evangelical Christian movement. They are Howard Fieldstead Ahmanson Jr. of Irvine, heir to the Home Savings and Loan fortune; Robert Hurtt of Garden Grove, owner of Container Supply Company, a manufacturing concern; Robert Atsinger of Camarillo, owner of Salem Communications, a chain of Christian radio stations; and Roland Hinz of Mission Hills, who owns Hi-Torque Publications, which publishes dirt-bike magazines. Together, they contributed $1.6 million to various conservative campaign coffers through the primary and general elections. Allied Business PAC, the primary vehicle for their giving, distributed $830,863 to conservative Assembly candidates. Final financial reports are not due from the secretary of state until January 31st, but California Common Cause expects Allied PAC to be in the top ten among independent contributors in the state.

Hardman of the Christian Coalition says the combined efforts paid off big-time. "In the races where the Christian Coalition produced a voter's guide, 'pro-family' candidates won 18 out of 32 congressional races, 19 out of 31 Assembly races, and three out of six state Senate races," she says. "In local city council and school board races, 40 new Christian, pro-family candidates won office." Religious organizations were also instrumental in the defeat of Proposition 161, the "doctor

The 53rd Assembly District

Did the Christian right torpedo one of its own?

By Mary Pols

Political novice Debra Bowen says that on the day she took out papers to run as the lone Democrat for the newly created 53rd Assembly District in Los Angeles' South Bay, she believed she had a good chance of winning.

Fiscally moderate, pro-choice, female, facing an ultra-conservative opponent in a district reeling from defense cuts — in retrospect, her victory would seem inevitable. But back in March, and well into the fall, the Venice attorney would have had to search far and wide to find anyone outside her immediate family who shared her optimism.

Pundits, political scientists and journalists scrambling for a term to define the 1992 elections have had a hard time making up their minds. Was it the "year of the woman?" The year of the political outsider? Then again, maybe it was the year when voters preferred issues to mudslinging, or perhaps the year Republicans chose their version of God over electability. Bill Clinton's campaign guru — James Carville — said it was simply "the economy, stupid."

But political junkies still wondering which theme really mattered would do well to examine the 53rd District, where the themes converged in the most striking fashion. In this comfortable, middle-class slice of Reagan Country, they produced an astonishingly wide margin of victory for Democrat Bowen over Christian right-backed Republican Brad Parton (55 to 41 percent). Bruce Cain, associate director of the Institute of Governmental Affairs at the University of California, Berkeley, says that nearly equal registration between the two parties gave Bowen her first break. He adds that she was buoyed by strong distinctions between a pro-choice Democratic female and her conservative, right-to-life male opponent.

"You could call what happened in the late '80s in races like Lucy Killea's in San Diego the temblors before the major quake of 1992," Cain says, referring to Democrat Killea's successful run for the state Senate in a strong GOP district where Killea's pro-choice view on abortion emerged as a key element in the campaign. "Factor in the nature of the times, economic dissatisfaction in the district layered on top of the factional division in the Republican Party, and [Bowen's victory] makes sense."

Handsome, clean-cut Brad Parton, the young mayor of Redondo Beach, lays the bulk of blame for his loss on the coattail effect of the Clinton-Gore presidential ticket: "People went into the voting booth, started with Clinton-Gore and went right down, going Democratic the whole way." But he doesn't discount the year of the woman, adding that even had there been GOP coattails, his would have been a difficult race because his opponent was female.

Bowen, who differed little from Parton on economic issues, is reluctant to give too much credence to the "woman" theme. "Remember," she says, "women lost as well as won in the state. I did talk to people ... who told me they were only voting for women this year. On the other hand, the people who would never vote for a woman didn't tell me that, but I'm sure there were plenty of them, too."

Bowen also points out that percentage-wise in the district, she ran ahead of Bill Clinton, and that in Redondo Beach — Parton's home base — she ran ahead not only of Clinton but of U.S. Senate candidates Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein and congressional hopeful Jane Harman.

In the last weeks of the campaign, Bowen's volunteers registered almost 7000 new Democrats in the district, tipping the registration ever so slightly from Republican. But registration wasn't the only factor, since she won by a margin approaching 23,000 votes.

In explaining her victory, Bowen points to Parton's affiliation with Christian fundamentalists. Of the $625,196 raised by Parton, $136,500 came from what Common

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Mary Pols is a graduate student in journalism at the University of California, Berkeley.

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assisted death" initiative. Hardman's analysis, like that of People for the American Way, overstates the case a bit. For example, her tally includes many long-time conservative incumbents, like Congressman Robert Dornan and Assemblyman Ross Johnson, who enjoyed easy re-election bids. But the prizes also include congressional victories by Assemblyman Bill Baker (CD10), one-term incumbent John Doolittle (CD4) and Richard Pombo (CD11). In each of these races, grass-roots support from the Christian right was a factor in the wins for conservative GOP candidates.

How important a factor is tricky to evaluate, particularly since each of the wins came in districts where registration favors Republicans. In the five competitive congressional contests targeted by the religious right, only Baker, running in a new district virtually tailored for him by reapportionment, scored anything resembling a convincing victory. Pombo squeaked by Patti Garamendi, and Doolittle, aided by the advantages of incumbency, withstood a strong challenge from Patricia Malberg.

Some Republican analysts argue that the vaunted grass-roots organizational strength of the religious right is a tool of limited value. They say it may be more instructive to look at the two key congressional races where Christian-backed candidates lost contests to Democratic incumbents who were widely regarded as vulnerable. In the 3rd District, former Republican state Senator H.L. Richardson failed to unseat incumbent Democrat Vic Fazio, and in the 24th District, Assemblyman Tom McClintock was thrashed by incumbent Democrat Anthony Belienson.

GOP reapportionment expert Tony Quinn, a vice president at Braun Ketchum Public Relations, says those losses highlight the problems ultra-conservative candidates face when they run in split districts where Republicans must attract moderates and cross-over Democrats in order to win. "The new reapportionment favors candidates of the center," he says. "If either party nominates extremists, they are going to lose."

A look at the outcomes in the 12 targeted Assembly races,

Cause calls the "Conservative Coalition," including Allied Business PAC and Family PAC — campaign funds set up by four wealthy Orange County fundamentalists.

"There is a great deal of concern among voters about the extremists on either side of the political equation," says Bowen, herself a former moderate Republican who turned

Bowen **Parton**

Democrat in the mid-1980s over the GOP's stand on choice. "I had contact with regular people from the beginning, people who I know from working in the community, and their take was that we can't allow the Christian right to take over the California Legislature. Both Democrats and Republicans were telling me this."

Parton admits that public perception of his link with Christian fundamentalists hurt his campaign, but he says his positions were misconstrued by the media. "I wish [the media] had just asked me what my positions were.... What people tend to do is think that if you get money from a certain group then you must agree with all their issues. That isn't true. For instance, I got contributions from several oil companies, but I'm totally against offshore oil drilling .... Because I'm pro-life, they think that means I go along with the religious right on everything else."

Bowen pushed the issue of Parton's religious affiliations throughout the fall, although it was late October before the *Los Angeles Times* and *The Daily Breeze* in Torrance began writing stories examining Parton's ties to the Conservative Coalition. Both papers eventually endorsed Bowen.

"The articles ... definately had an impact," says Bowen. "We had been saying all along that this was someone with very close ties to the Christian right who has received a ton of money from them. When a third party, an unbiased party, starts saying that, it has a lot more impact."

According to Bowen, the final nail in Parton's coffin was a late-October mailing by his campaign that accused Bowen of religious bigotry bordering on that of the "brown-shirted fascists of Nazi Germany." Bowen says that when she woke up on October 27th — her birthday — to find a copy of the mailer hanging out of her fax machine, she was "incredibly upset."

"At that point the tide was turning pretty strongly in our direction anyway, but [the mailer] motivated a lot of people to volunteer and write checks," Bowen says.

Former Torrance City Councilman Dan Walker, a moderate Republican who ran a close second to Parton in the June primary, withdrew his endorsement of Parton after seeing the hit piece. "It was just a disgusting piece," Walker says. "The Republican Party has got to divorce itself from the far right. If the party doesn't become more inclusive then it is doomed. And electing more politicians like Brad in primaries is going to mean that less Republicans are going to be representing the people."

Although moderate Republicans may shun Christian right-backed candidates, Parton is savvy enough to be looking ahead to a more big-tent approach for the party. "I'm a strong supporter of Governor Wilson," Parton insists, "even though we differ on many issues. That's okay because he is a Republican, I'm a Republican. That is the attitude the party has got to have. I'm not going to abandon the party over one issue."

And, Parton adds, "You need to take a stand with your platform. It has to be in there, but you don't need to rub it in to those people who disagree with you. You need to be able to bring them in on other issues. Maybe I'll be running on Jack Kemp's coattails in 1996."

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nine of which were open seats and all of which had registration that either leaned or outright favored Republicans, more effectively illustrates Quinn's point. Late last summer, conservatives were talking about a clean sweep with these candidates, most of whom defeated moderates preferred by Pete Wilson in the primary. In November, there were six winners — Larry Bowler (AD10), Kathleen Honeycutt (AD34), Ray Haynes (AD66), Bill Hoge (AD44), Curt Pringle (AD68), and Bill Morrow (AD73). All of those victories came in districts where Traditional Values Coalition spokesman Sheldon concedes, "You'd have to shoot your mother to lose" as a Republican. No Democratic incumbents lost their seats.

Again, what may be more telling are the six losses, which came in districts that ranged from marginally to overwhelmingly Republican. Most pointedly, Steve Baldwin (AD77), Dick Daleke (AD76) and Brad Parton (AD53) suffered huge defeats in what should have been solid Republican territory.

According to GOP consultant Ron Smith, they went down because their social views were too extreme for middle-of-the-road voters. Moderate Republicans, he says, lost in competitive districts because of heavy registration efforts by Democrats and the strong pro-Clinton tide in the state. But conservative Republicans can't make that argument.

"If you look at the races where conservatives lost — like Parton, Baldwin, and Daleke — those were all Republican districts. You shouldn't have Republicans losing in those districts," Smith contends. "They were rejected by Republicans."

Mindful of the dangers of being perceived as too extreme, all of the 12 conservative candidates played down their ties to the religious right. They apparently had good reason for doing so. The candidates considered the biggest upset losers — Baldwin, Daleke and Parton — were those who received the most media scrutiny over their connection to fundamentalist Christian backers. The Baldwin race is a case in point. The young Christian activist was a heavy favorite in his San Diego district, where Republicans outnumber Democrats 47 percent to 39 percent. As of late October, Baldwin's little-known Democratic opponent, Tom Connolly, had raised only $30,000 compared to nearly $250,000 in Baldwin's war chest. The week before the election, PBS' MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour and NBC ran stories on the religious right in Southern California that prominently featured Baldwin dodging interviews. At the same time, Connolly started gaining in the polls. Speaker Willie Brown and Assembly Democrats, who had previously written off the contest, dumped $95,000 into the Connolly campaign in the last days of the race. Connolly wound up with 48 percent of the vote, compared with 44 percent for Baldwin.

"From the national press, to what was happening locally, the Democrats made a decision to expend significant resources in that race," says Robert Mulholland, political director for the state Democratic Party during most of the 1992 campaign. "It was a smart decision."

Increased media scrutiny also had an impact on local races in Southern California. Darlee Crockett, a pro-choice Republican volunteer for the Mainstream Voter Project in San Diego County, notes that in 1990, nearly two-thirds of the school board and city council candidates on a "pro-family" slate in San Diego county won office using so called "stealth campaign" tactics in which their associations with the religious right were minimized. But she says that her group's efforts to publicize local candidates' ties to the fundamentalist Christian movement paid off in this election. "This time," Crockett says, "they only achieved one-third."

Even so, the Christian right made further inroads at the local level. Crockett says that several five-seat school boards in the San Diego area now have at least two fundamentalist Christian members, and on the Vista school board they are now a majority. "There was a lot of publicity, and they still won," she says, adding that unusually high voter turnout this year should have also worked against the right-wing candidates. "Their strategy is to take advantage of the fact that we have abysmal voter turnout most of the time," says Crockett. "We're looking at this as a microcosm of what can happen."

While the religious right's ability to sell its agenda to mainstream voters may be an open question, its voice within the California Republican Party will be louder than ever. Quietly capturing posts that party regulars don't pay much attention to, cultural conservatives now control as many as 38 of 58 of the county GOP central committees. These are the party's nuts and bolts operations that nurture candidates, raise local money and coordinate get-out-the-vote efforts. They also make appointments to the state central committee and help write the party platform. Combined with the California Republican Assembly (CRA), the right wing's official party organization, control of the central committees gives the cultural conservatives a firm grip on the party's grass-roots machinery.

GOP strategist Steve Merksamer argues that this is a minor development at best. "I don't think it really matters," he says. "I think it matters who controls the legislatures, the state house, and Congress. I'm not trying to diminish the work of Republican central committees, but they don't play a central role in making policy."

But outgoing Congressman Tom Campbell, who lost a U.S. Senate primary battle to conservative hero Bruce Herschensohn, disagrees that such grass-roots influence is inconsequential. "It has a profound influence on our party and its prospects," he says. Campbell argues that Christian right influence in the local party machinery was instrumental in the victories of conservative candidates over moderates backed by Governor Wilson in the June primaries. And the role of ultra-conservative committee members in writing the platform or acting as delegates to the state convention, he says, highlights intra-party divisions on controversial issues like abortion.

Quite apart from the struggle over control of the party apparatus is the question of policy influence in Sacramento. While Democrats retain control of the Legislature, the religious right's agenda will certainly get a more sympathetic hearing on the Republican side of the aisle. The six new Christian-backed Assembly members join conservative incumbents like Ross Johnson, Gil Ferguson, Dean Andal, Nolan Frizzelle, David Knowles, and Andrea Seastrand — all of whom were on Pat Robertson's wish list as California delegates to the national GOP convention in Houston (Knowles was the only one selected). Together, they will be able to dominate more moderate Wilson allies in the minority caucus where they will have the ability to block budgets and spending bills that require a two-thirds vote.

Marty Wilson says it's up to the conservatives to use their new-found influence in a way that will strengthen the party rather than weaken it. "I think that there's a certain maturation that has to go on," he says. "They have to realize that they're working in a political world where absolutes are much harder to find. If they can accommodate, then they are going to be a

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foundation on which we can build."

But it's a shaky foundation for Pete Wilson, who will need support from the right if he hopes to retain the governorship in 1994. While Wilson's pro-life stance is a fundamental source of friction between the governor and the conservatives, his agreement to tax and fee increases as part of the 1991 budget deal and his signing of legislation prohibiting job discrimination against gays and lesbians are other sore points with the right.

To make matters worse, Wilson further alienated some on the right with his losing effort to pass Proposition 165, which would have reformed the state welfare system and given the governor increased power in the budget process. Barbara Alby, loser of a bitter Assembly primary contest to Wilson ally B.T. Collins and star of an infamous, anti-gay voter registration video distributed at churches throughout the state, charges that the governor "took promised money away from good candidates" to finance his own effort.

"The governor's desire to be a hero on the road to the White House was one of the reasons that cost Republicans so dearly here," Alby says. "Pete Wilson does not care about the conservatives, and I think that you're going to see the effects of that in the Assembly caucus and the CRA grass roots. We are not going to bow down and kiss the ring."

TVC spokesman Sheldon adds that Wilson's failure to consider that the welfare cuts proposed in Proposition 165 might cause poor women to have more abortions was another measure of his disregard for the cultural conservatives. "The governor didn't come to conservatives and ask for their perspective. He knew it was a potentially volatile issue when a woman is on welfare and won't receive money for AFDC. A lot of conservatives opposed that initiative."

Republicans of all ideological stripes pay lip service to the notion that moderates and conservatives can overcome such divisions by emphasizing the fiscal conservatism that is at the core of the party's philosophy. "I think you're going to see the Republicans in the Legislature and the governor working closely together because they will have a common economic platform," says consultant Ron Smith. "The real test is going to be whether California is going to tax itself into a place where business can't survive."

Sheldon agrees that Republicans must present a united front if they hope to win elections. "We need to come together with moderates in the party," said Sheldon. "We share a lot of the same principles." He argues that on areas like government growth, lower taxes, and law and order issues, conservatives and moderates can easily find common ground.

But listening to Sheldon, it's clear that it is Pete Wilson who's going to have to do the compromising. "The governor's created an atmosphere in the state where the only way to deal with him is through power," Sheldon says. "He needs to understand that he's got to work with us." Sheldon suggests that Wilson is going to have to compromise on his abortion stance, his "embracing of homosexual special rights," and "his whole perspective on tax increases" if he wants to appease conservatives.

The test of Wilson's willingness to compromise with the right could come sooner rather than later. Without going into specifics, Sheldon says that the Traditional Values Coalition is preparing to introduce legislation in the next session on a variety of issues, some of which "are more controversial than others."

That's exactly the kind of talk that worries moderate Republicans looking ahead to 1994. "If the election is decided on whether we're going to live within our means or spend ourselves into oblivion, then there will be a common bond," says consultant Smith. "But if it goes on like the crazy election that is just over, with the Republican convention and President Bush and Quayle talking all this crazy stuff about family values and Murphy Brown, then it's all over for the Republicans."

Campbell worries that the radical right may not have gotten the message. While he hopes that focusing on economics will obscure intra-party divisions over key social issues, he admits that he's not sure that will occur.

"The strains are there," says Campbell. "Things may get worse for our party before they get better." Campbell fears that the party may repeat the Goldwater disaster of 1964, when "we went into Armageddon mode and proceeded to get the tar beaten out of us" before shifting back towards the center.

To try and prevent that from happening, Campbell is joining with retiring U.S. Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire to form a new Republican organization designed to counter the influence of the 'religious right by identifying and supporting moderate candidates. "We're forming this organization to present a home for fiscal conservatives who don't want a religious test for a place in our party," he says. "We recognize that people can disagree on matters of conscience, like homosexuality, the life issue, and school prayer. The key is not to make them criteria for becoming Republicans and to emphasize fiscal responsibility as we enter the Democratic era."

While Campbell and his allies struggle to regain control of the party's image, Christian activists aren't exactly sitting still. Their plans focus on cementing strength in the areas where they've had success so far — in the trenches.

"We're going to continue building our organizations," says Hardman. "The next election we'll be stronger and more educated." Some of that education will come at the Coalition center in Virginia Beach, Virginia, where national director Ralph Reed said recently the group hopes to train up to 10,000 new Christian leaders from all over the country in the next year.

"A lot of these people that have gotten involved in the Christian Coalition have never been involved in politics before," says Hardman. "Many are unsophisticated politically. But they're learning."

Christian leaders also are developing a strategy for winning without the help of a media they say is hostile and biased. One component of that strategy is to simply avoid the mainstream press whenever possible. "Conservatives need to get back into the precincts and bypass the liberal press," says Sheldon. "They need to publish their own literature to communicate their own message to the voters."

Until that happens, Sheldon says, they'll be busy fighting what he calls the "war of perception" by getting the phrase "religious right" out of the media vocabulary. "We prefer not to have 'religious right' associated with us," says Sheldon, who calls the TVC simply a "pro-family" organization. "We're concerned about the culture, about societal beliefs, about morality. We don't get into a religious litmus test when selecting which candidates to support."

"It's not just Christians, it's conservatives," adds Hardman of the Christian Coalition. "I'm going to start calling myself a moral and a fiscal conservative. Not that I really object to it personally," she adds with a laugh. "I really am Christian, and I really am right."

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Wayne Johnson:

a conservative consultant with ties to the religious right

By Ron Nissimov

When Republican Richard Pombo narrowly won a newly-created congressional seat in San Joaquin County last fall, much of the credit went to his campaign consultant, Wayne Johnson. The odds were stacked against Pombo, who ran as a pro-life fiscal conservative in a year when both those positions seemed to be liablities. His opponent, Patti Garamendi, had a big early lead, was better known and better funded. Worse yet, she seemed to benefit heavily from the "skirttails" of the "Year of the Woman," as well as the coattails of the Clinton-Gore ticket.

But Johnson came up with a novel idea. He had Pombo write an "editorial" in his campaign literature, urging local merchants to stop selling rapper Ice-T's song "Cop Killer." Next to the "editorial" was a picture of Ice-T with the words "Cop Killer."

The Garamendi campaign promptly charged Pombo with racism for "putting the words 'Cop Killer' next to a picture of a Black man." But Johnson turned the controversy to his candidate's advantage. During the crucial last week of the campaign, he produced a television commercial in which state Attorney General Dan Lungren called Garamendi soft on crime for defending the rap song.

"People were congratulating me for pulling that off, but I didn't know it was going to turn out that way. But I'll take the credit for it," says Johnson, betraying a slight southern drawl. As the candidates traded charges, Pombo's support begin to swell. Johnson says that the district's large contingent of conservative Democrats was turned off by Garamendi's vitriolic charge.

"She put her foot in her mouth, and then she shot herself in the foot," Johnson says.

In the hardball world of political consulting, it was a shrewd manuever that paid off handsomely. But by his own definition, Johnson is more than just a hired gun doing what it takes to get his clients elected. A devout Christian, Johnson says he seeks to promote "the values he believes in" in his consulting work. These include strict anti-abortion laws, the belief that homosexuality should be illegal, the unrestricted right to own guns, and limited government. To promote these values, Johnson says he confines his clientele to conservative Republicans who share his basic views. In addition to Pombo, his clients this year included Congressman John Doolittle in the 4th Congressional District, who beat back a strong Democratic challenger; and former state Senator H.L. Richardson in the 3rd Congressional District, who lost his bid to unseat incumbent Democrat Vic Fazio.

The son of a Baptist minister, Johnson was raised in Roanoke, Virginia, where his parents ran a skid-row rescue mission. He credits them for his strong religious convictions. After graduating with a history degree from Purdue University in 1975, he ended up in Orange County working as a sales manager for a commercial printing company. When the company went broke several years later, a friend from Purdue encouraged Johnson to go to work on Richardson's Southern California Senate staff. Six months later, he was in Sacramento, working for Richardson's direct-mail fund-raising company.

"I think it was obvious when I went to work for the company that I would spend my life in politics," says Johnson, who describes Richardson's tutelage and connections as invaluable. By 1982 he had hung out his consulting shingle in Sacramento: Wayne Johnson and Associates.

Among conservatives, Johnson has gained a reputation as a tough, creative strategist. In 1984 he ran the national mail fund-raising efforts for Jack Kemp's presidential bid. He claims credit for the early drafts of Proposition 140, the 1990 initiative that imposed term limits on California's Legislature. Although 1992 was hardly a banner year for California Republicans, Johnson boasts victories in six out of the seven campaigns he handled, the most important being Pombo's election in the 11th Congressional District and video king Bernie Richter's lopsided win over Democrat Lon Hatamiya in the 3rd Assembly District. The failure of his former boss to unseat Fazio, the number one GOP target in California, was a major disappointment.

In the Richardson race, as in those for Pombo and Richter, Johnson drew heavy criticism for sending out mailers designed to look like small town newspapers. He produced a four-page tabloid called the *Valley Messenger* for Richardson, who ran in the Sacramento area, and for Pombo, who ran in the San Joaquin Valley. He also produced the *North County Messenger* for Richter, who ran in the Chico area. Each candidate's tabloid focused only on his respective race and opponent, but all had the same look and format — "articles" attacking the opponent, "editorials" written by Johnson's candidate, and "letters to the editor" from community members further blasting the opponent. A voter would have had to look carefully to distinguish the newsprint mailers from actual newspapers. Pombo's *Valley Messenger*, for example, carried the "Cop Killer editorial." Nor was that the only time that Johnson was accused of using the campaign tabloids to incite racial prejudices. In the Richter-Hatamiya race, the *North County Messenger* showed Hatamiya standing next to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Hatamiya's consultant, Paul Kinney, says this was a subtle but unmistakable attempt to make race an issue in the campaign.

"I thought Johnson played the race card well, by doing

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an illustration of Hatamiya, who is Japanese, standing next to Willie Brown, a Black person," Kinney said. Also appearing in the tabloid were unsubstantiated claims of Hatamiya's ties to Japanese lobbyists. "You can expect an ugly, tough affair if you're involved in a race against Wayne Johnson," Kinney says. "He's pretty good at following a no-holds-barred campaign."

Richter, not surprisingly, sees his consultant a little differently: "He's brilliant, he's a genius, and he's a workaholic," the newly-elected assemblyman says.

Johnson takes the praise he receives from clients as his due and the harsh criticism about his tactics in stride. He notes he is not doing anything different from what other political consultants do — or wished they had thought of doing.

In person, Johnson shows little hint of being the guiling, ruthless and tenacious political consultant that his opponents say he is. A youngish 40, with a sharp wit and somewhat awkward, lanky body he is at the same time both charming and disarming. Asked how he reconciles his hard-hitting political tactics with the spirit of Christianity, Johnson says that being a Christian does not always mean turning the other cheek.

"I'm not a pacifist," he says. "There are different opinions as to what it means to be a Christian, and I believe I'm supposed to work to accompish the things I believe in."

Although Johnson's views are identical to those ascribed to the Christian right, and his clients are often linked with the Christian right, he bristles at the term.

"I think the label 'Christian Right' is like the label 'Jewish Left,'" he says. "It is clearly religious bigotry. Trying to find out the religious beliefs of people running for office is un-American, and clearly not the road we want to go down."

Johnson says it is the media that is intolerant, not the Christian right. The media, he says, mocks and demonizes serious commitment to fundamentalist religious beliefs.

"The media are the priesthood of secular society," Johnson claims. "There is a strong liberal bias in the media, and an even stronger secular bias. Do they really want people running for office to not have any religious beliefs?"

Johnson says that even if the term "Christian right" had any legitimate meaning in describing a potent political force, and even if he agreed with its ascribed goals, it simply is not true that he represents its interests as a consultant.

"I theologically disagree with most of my clients," Johnson says. "They represent a broad range of possible views, and we don't talk a lot about it. I do not have a religious test for my clients." He adds that, "Richard Pombo is a Portugese Roman Catholic, and two of his opponents in the primaries were supported by the so-called Christian right groups. Richardson is a Lutheran and Doolittle is a Mormon. What do they have in common, and what makes them Christian right?" Johnson says he even took on Republican Richter, a social conservative with no religious affiliation.

But theology is not the question. In addition to working solely for candidates who share most of the values of the Christian right, Johnson is a friend of Howard Ahmanson, the Orange County multi-millionaire who uses an inherited fortune to support Christian causes and charities. Ahmanson gave more than $800,000 in 1992 alone to the campaigns of California conservative candidates he felt would help promote his religious values. Two of Johnson's clients — Pombo and Richardson — benefitted from Ahmanson's financial support in 1992. Like Ahmanson, Johnson is a trustee of the Chalcedon Foundation, a religious think tank that has spurred much of the religious right's recent political activism.

Johnson distances himself from Christian right causes, however, by saying he only consults and does not directly try to set public policy. Although his winning clients — who agree with most of Johnson's views — do set policy, Johnson says, "We always disagree on some things." He also says he has turned down several requests to work for anti-gay initiatives and also has rejected requests made by the Christian Coalition to co-ordinate some of his campaign work with their efforts.

Political consultant Steve Presson agrees that Johnson is more interested in promoting social conservatism than in the wishes of the Christian right. And Joe Shumate, deputy chief of staff to Governor Pete Wilson — who battled the Christian right in 1992 GOP primaries — agrees.

"Wayne Johnson is a very responsible person and a conservative Republican," says Shumate. "But he is not tied down to any particular group. I would be willing to work with him anytime."

Johnson says he aligns himself more with the views of his former client, Jack Kemp, who emphasizes a spirit of co-operation, than in the "taking back our culture" rhetoric espoused by Pat Buchanan.

Says Johnson: "If Jack Kemp were to ask me to help him in '96, I would be very receptive. He has the same sort of positive emphasis that I appreciate, and the real key in public life is to create a positive atmosphere."

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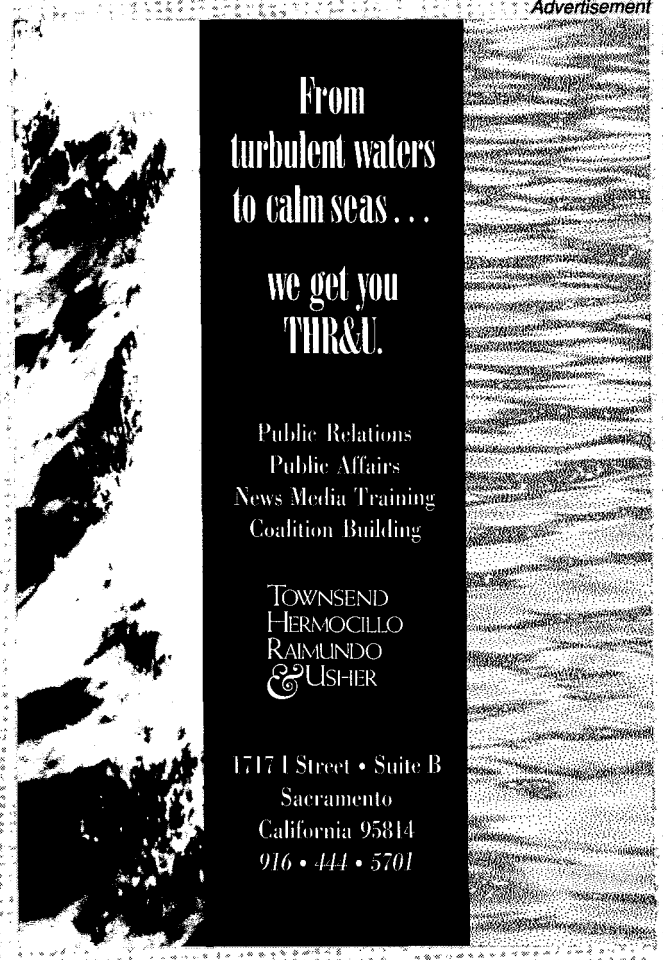

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Did 1992 herald the dawn of Latino political power?

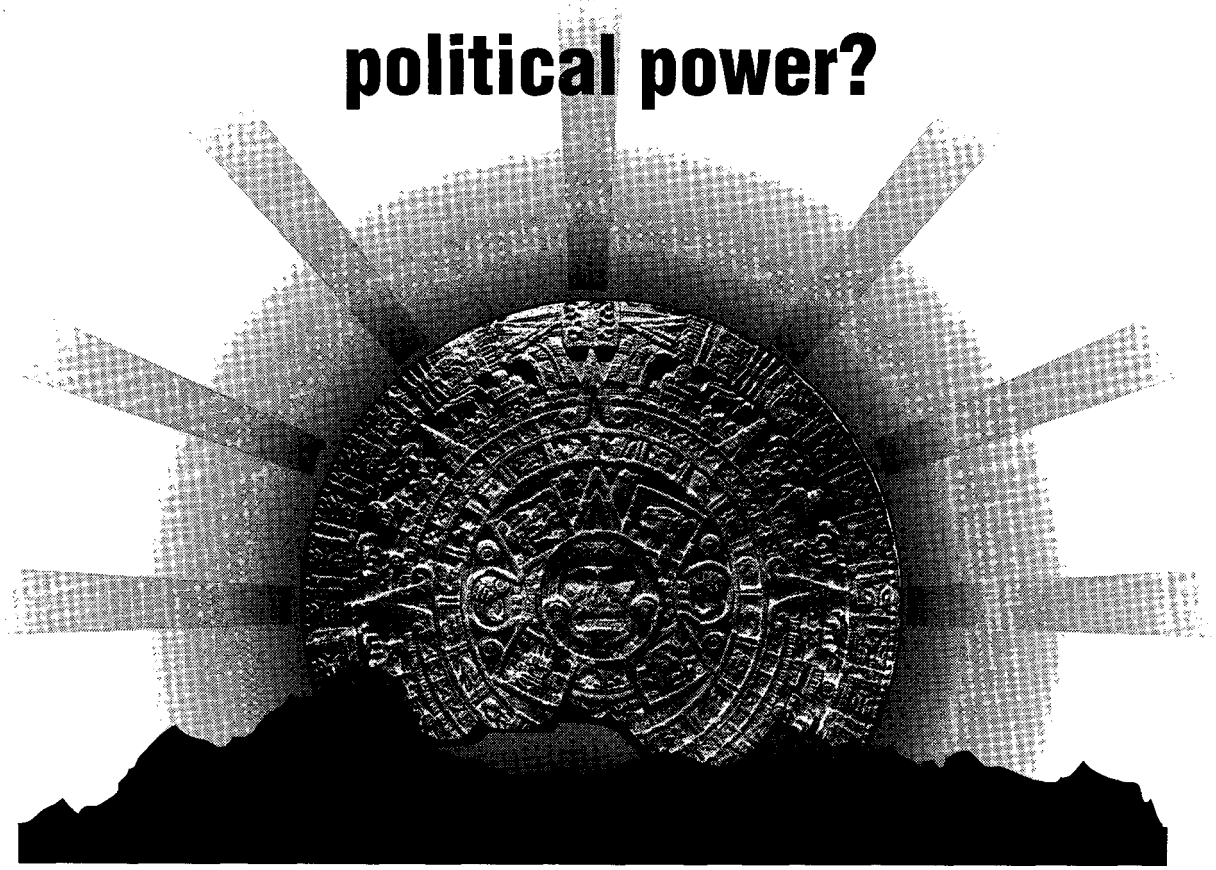

illustration by Lynwood Montgomery

By Dale Maharidge

One August day in the summer of 1970, 12-year-old Martha Escutia was mowing her grandfather's lawn in East Los Angeles. A few blocks away, cops were tear-gassing 5000 Chicano protesters. Escutia's parents kept close reins on their daughter to keep her away from trouble. Anything could happen, as journalist Ruben Salazar was to learn that day. After covering the riot, he stopped for a beer in a Whittier Avenue bar when it was unexpectedly surrounded by Los Angeles sheriff's deputies. A tear-gas shell blasted point-blank into the bar hit Salazar, killing him. Although Salazar's death was ruled accidental, it smacked of an execution and made him into a martyr. Salazar is no Latino version of Malcolm X, but as a *Los Angeles Times* columnist and *KMEX-TV* news director, he was *the* voice for area Latinos. He pushed hard on stories such as Latinos dying with mysterious regularity while in sheriff's custody.

At that time, Latinos had no real voice in California state politics: None were in the state Senate (the last time a seat was held was in 1913); in the Assembly, there was just one Latino.

The Latino community made political gains over the next two decades, but the 1992 elections heralded the biggest change in this century — a record 10 Latinos in the Legislature. All the action was in the Assembly, where there was an increase from four to seven seats (three more are in the Senate), with six going to freshmen — including the now-grown Martha Escutia.

Escutia and the others are heirs to a legacy with its roots in a Chicano movement that took Latinos from the streets to the halls of power in

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numbers not seen in modern times. Many are unaware that in 1847, the military governor of California had seven advisers, four of them Latino. And the new state's Legislature from 1849 through 1864 had mostly proportional Latino representation, before the long drought began.

"This is the starting point for the next major shift for Latino power in California," said Richard Martinez, executive director for the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project.

Reapportionment by the state Supreme Court that created heavily Latino districts is certainly a factor but does not entirely account for the change. The Latino community, the largest minority in the state but long considered politically impotent because of low voter turnout, is no longer dormant.

"The sleeping giant is awakened," said 45th District Assemblyman Richard Polanco, a Democratic incumbent who easily won re-election. "The myth of the past is that, a myth."

I do not see myself as a Latino politician in that this is the only community I represent. You're only going to be relevant if you address issues of all Californians, not just one community.

— Louis Caldera

Polanco's hyperbole notwithstanding, there are indications of increased Latino involvement — that the giant may be awake. At least, its eyelids are fluttering. Whether or not it is ready to sit up and aggressively flex its muscles remains to be seen.

In the past, Latino voter-turnout rates have been low for a variety of reasons, among them: Major parties have viewed Latinos as invisible and thus have spent little time trying to energize them; unfavorable gerrymandering of districts split the Latino community among various neighboring districts to enhance Democratic chances in those districts; a large chunk of the Latino community was ineligible to vote because they weren't citizens or were underage. Yet Latino activists have argued that if the community had a chance to have a meaningful voice, it would get involved.

The 1992 elections seem to offer some glimpse of the future. In 1988, 7.5 percent of the total votes cast statewide for president came from Latinos. In 1992 it jumped to 10 percent, meaning 1.15 million California Latinos went to the polls, according to Mark DiCamillo, associate director of The Field Poll.

"This was the first little tick upwards that we noted," DiCamillo said of the years of stagnant voting patterns. "The registration efforts are finally starting to pay off. And more Latinos are running in Assembly and congressional races, so this has increased participation."

While notable, Latino increases in the Legislature still are relatively low. In the Assembly, for instance, Latinos represent 8 percent of the legislative body, while they make up 25 percent of the California population.

There seems to be an invisible wall at the Tehachapi Mountains; all Latino legislators are from south of that line. That situation could change this year in the race for an Assembly seat being vacated by Democrat Bruce Bronzan. At least one strong Latino candidate intends to run in the Central Valley district — Bronzan's district director, Cruz Bustamante. And there are plenty of local Latino officeholders in the north poised to run in future legislative races.

One thing is certain: There certainly is no going back to the old days when the only Latino politician of note was Congressman Ed Roybal. A look at Latino politics is a search into the recent and powerless past. Paging through yellowed copies of *La Raza*, a magazine begun in 1970 as a voice of the Chicano movement, one senses there was a never-ending Los Angeles riot in those years. Dozens of pictures show Latinos being held in headlock or pummeled by law officers.

The bloody street battles, if not directly responsible for political gains, at least raised awareness to make change possible. The first Latino legislators who came into office, however, were held up as oddities, the subject of much scrutiny, not only among the press but among their fellow lawmakers. There also was a focus on Latino infighting that reached legendary proportions during a bitter 1982 state Senate primary between incumbent Democrat Alex Garcia and Assemblyman Art Torres. Torres ousted Garcia, but the contest took its toll.

Lately, that infighting has involved Los Angeles County Supervisor Gloria Molina (a former assemblywoman and the first Latina elected to the Legislature in 1982) vs. "the guys" — usually Polanco, Torres, and Los Angeles Councilman Richard Alatorre, also a former assemblyman. This was not a Latina-Latino confrontation, however, since both sides supported both male and female candidates.

The intrigue reached a peak during June's primary when the two camps supported different candidates in most Assembly races in Latino-dominated districts. Molina's camp was the loser, with its only victor being Hilda Solis of the 57th Assembly District in El Monte. The infighting has been the cause of thousands of hours of gossip, has meant the use of untold gallons of printing ink, and has resulted in anger among Latino leaders — not at each other but at the way the factions have been reported.

"No one says the Anglos are going at each other," said Martinez of the Southwest Voter Project. "The Legislature is lousy with factions: Anglos have factions, African-Americans have factions. We're no different than anybody else."

The battle between camps will not continue, according to Solis, who said: "I will be independent. I owe people in my community. I think it's unfortunate that kind of stuff has gone on."

The increased number of Latino legislators also may mean Latinos have reached political maturity, at least in the eyes of other ethnic groups that no longer will have just a handful of Latinos to talk about. And the freshmen differ from past Latino lawmakers. One clear distinction is that four of the six newcomers in the Assembly are women. While this sudden jump might seem surprising, it is a natural and expected evolution, said Richard Santillan, director of the Ethnic and Woman's Studies Department at California Polytechnic University in Pomona.

"It's not surprising to any of us who study Latin American politics," Santillan said. "Women have always been involved in political organization, around the church, the school. I can

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trace this back to the 1920s and the 1930s."

In the past, women remained in the background, supporting male candidates, Santillan said, but they are no longer going to stay there. And he added that while many Latino politicians of the recent past came out of labor unions, the newcomers come out of private industry, legal careers, the non-profit sector.

"The qualifications and the demands are now such that the leadership is changing, the background is more educated and worldly," Santillan said.

Those interviewed stressed that they want to use this expertise to solve California's problems.

"We're going to be involved in transportation, technology, economic development," said 46th District Assemblyman Louis Caldera, a Democrat who is a West Point graduate with degrees from Harvard's law and business schools.

They are a diverse group, but among those interviewed, one commonality emerged: All strove to distance themselves from being seen strictly as Latino politicians. Not one ever once used the term "Chicano," preferred by the 1970's activists. The word has fallen out of favor over the more general "Latino." "Chicano" is now relegated to use mostly by academics.

"I do not see myself as a Latino politician in that this is the only community I represent," Caldera said. "You're only going to be relevant if you address issues of all Californians, not just one community."

At least one of the new assemblywomen, Diane Martinez, is even uncomfortable with stories (like this one) that single out Latino gains. Her being Latina is irrelevant and not worthy of mention, she said, and she downplayed it during the race. Martinez resents the seven Latinos in the Assembly being dubbed in some circles as *"Los Siete,"* after their number.

"I think that this is all journalistic racism," said Martinez, another Democrat and the daughter of Congressman Marty Martinez. "You never look at Anglos that way. It sounds like we're running in a gang. It's really very difficult to stomach to be treated as one of '*Los Siete.*'"

This distancing from ethnic roots caused a long sigh from longtime Chicano activist Raul Ruiz, who was in front of the bar on August 29, 1970 — the day Ruben Salazar was killed — taking pictures as the sheriff's deputy shot the tear-gas canister without warning. Ruiz, now a professor in the Chicano Studies Department at California State University, Northridge, stopped short of calling the new legislators *vendidos*, or sellouts, but he has been critical.

"They should say 'I am a Chicana,'" Ruiz said. "Often those who struggled the hardest are forgotten, and the little princesses and royal family members get these things bequeathed to them. They don't really deserve to get elected. What you saw elected here was the struggle of two machines, the Alatorre machine and the Molina machine. We do have some representation now. But in many ways the community is worse off. It's democracy, unfortunately sometimes with a small 'd.' The Black community has been served much better by the folks they elected into office. I'm much more im-pressed with the way they serve the community than ours do."

The past does weigh on many of the Latino legislators. For new Assembly members such as Martha Escutia, 35, the

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past is important — her experience, while perhaps not typical of all 10 Latino lawmakers, illustrates that simple labels do not fit the group. Escutia was the child of "firsts" in her family: first generation to be born in the United States, first to graduate high school, then college. In 1982 she graduated with a law degree from Georgetown. She is an activist, but not along the lines of the Chicanos who were in the streets during her youth.

"I came from a very conservative family," she said. "My family always told me, 'You're not Chicana, you're not Mexican-American. If you have to identify yourself as something, don't hyphenate yourself: You're either American or you're Mexican but you can't be both.' So I never related to the so-called Chicano movement, the *Movimiento*. When I was in college I was frankly too busy trying to do well academically and hold down 45 hours worth of jobs. I just had a different agenda. The agenda was I had to build the foundation in order to be successful, and after that I could become an activist."

Upon graduation, Escutia spent five hard years working in Washington, D.C., for the National Council of La Raza, then heavily involved with the 1986 immigration bill and other issues such as employment and training based on the German model of vocational education — a tough sell in the Reagan years.

Escutia feels the burden of "doing something." When interviewed not long before the November election, she was consumed with worry as she drove around her district that stretches from the southern tip of East Los Angeles through Huntington Park in the south. It is 88 percent Latino, and unlike East Los Angeles, which is now a settled community, has most of the new immigrants. Her district is California in a microcosm: dead factories, a lot of immigrants, gangs, poverty, crowded schools.

Escutia pointed out the poverty in plentiful supply — crowded apartments, jobless men milling about — and asked what she can do to change things in the face of monumental problems and a lack of money.

"I don't know how I'm going to do it. My ass is on the line," Escutia said as she gripped the wheel. But Escutia, an intense and passionate woman, is going to try. She feels that one way is to forge coalitions to work together instead of stupidly splitting over lines drawn by camps and ethnic groups.

"LA is on the verge of balkanization," Escutia said. "We're dividing into hostile groups. I resent that a lot of our traditional allies [are] fighting against each other. It's almost like piranhas."

The Black caucus is prepared to work with the Latinos, according to Democratic Assemblyman Curtis Tucker Jr. of Inglewood. The two ethnic groups will hold together now more than ever before, he feels, at least better than the Anglo West Los Angeles liberal legislators and their northern counterparts.

"We all want the same things," said Tucker. "We all want better education, affordable housing, health care, economic development. The difference in wants between the African-American community and the Latino community don't exist."

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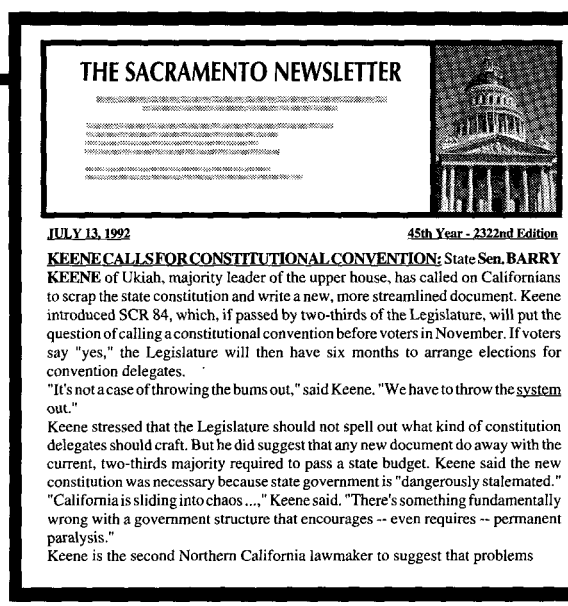
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JULY 13, 1992 — 45th Year - 2322nd Edition

KEENE CALLS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION: State Sen. **BARRY KEENE** of Ukiah, majority leader of the upper house, has called on Californians to scrap the state constitution and write a new, more streamlined document. Keene introduced SCR 84, which, if passed by two-thirds of the Legislature, will put the question of calling a constitutional convention before voters in November. If voters say "yes," the Legislature will then have six months to arrange elections for convention delegates.

"It's not a case of throwing the bums out," said Keene. "We have to throw the system out."

Keene stressed that the Legislature should not spell out what kind of constitution delegates should craft. But he did suggest that any new document do away with the current, two-thirds majority required to pass a state budget. Keene said the new constitution was necessary because state government is "dangerously stalemated."

"California is sliding into chaos ...," Keene said. "There's something fundamentally wrong with a government structure that encourages -- even requires -- permanent paralysis."

Keene is the second Northern California lawmaker to suggest that problems

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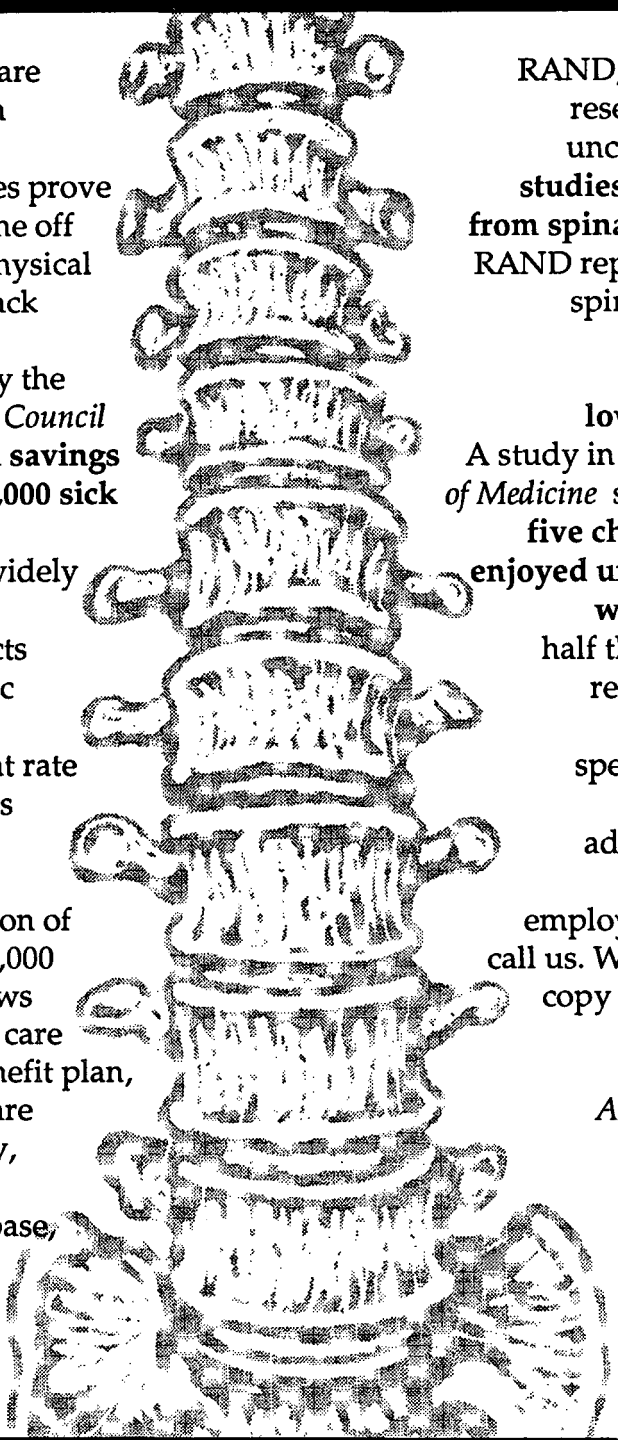

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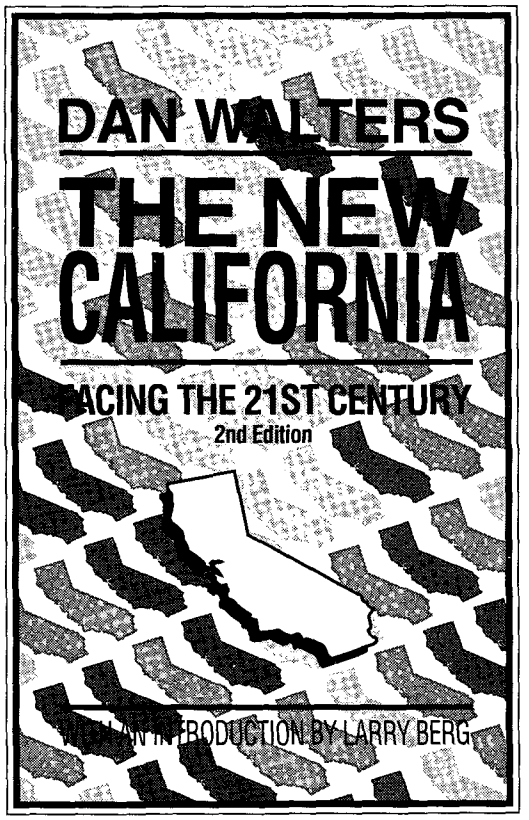

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The Supreme Court VS. the Legislature

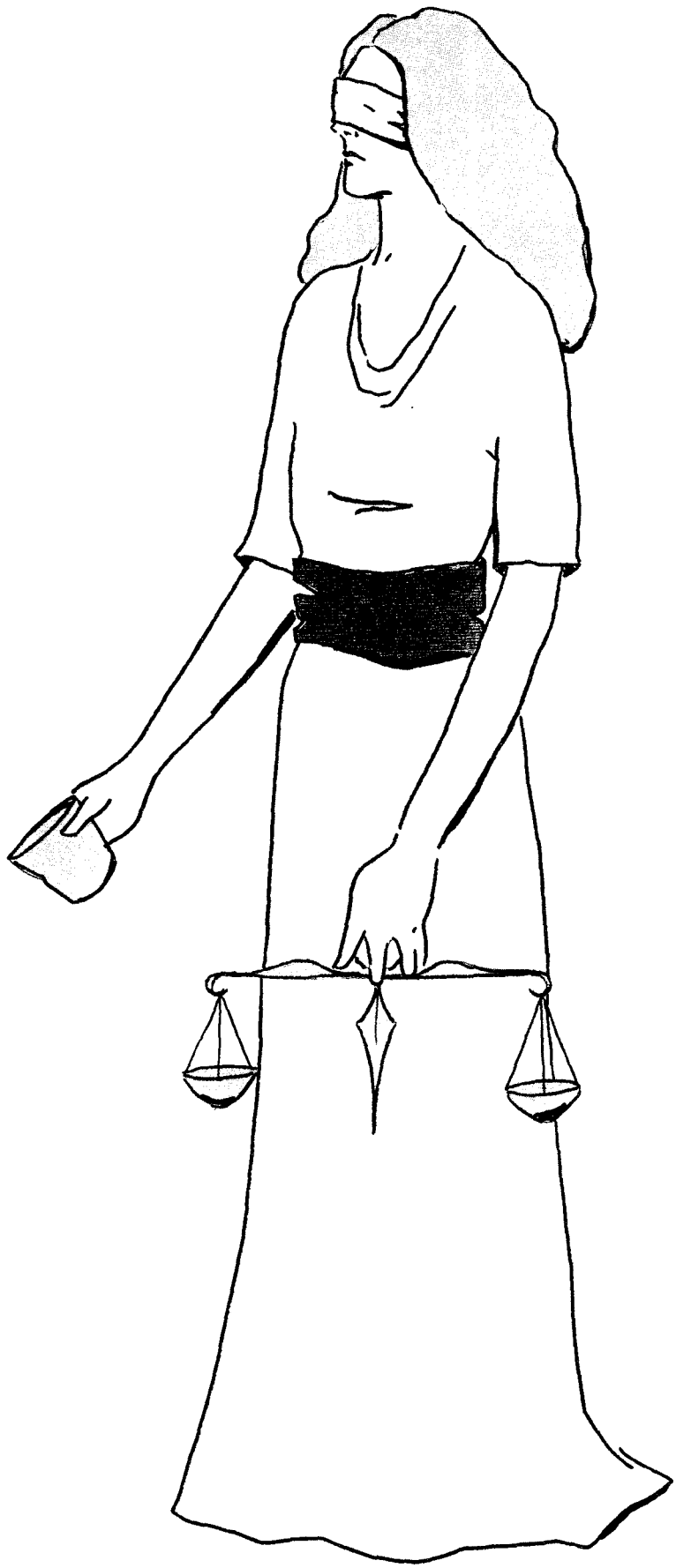

illustration by Scarlet Hong

By Bill Ainsworth

Any decision by the California Supreme Court upholding Proposition 140 would have been unpopular with lawmakers. The term limit measure was the legislators' worst nightmare. It ended their job security, slashed their budget by 38 percent and obliterated their pension program.

But what made legislators from both parties livid was the way that Chief Justice Malcolm Lucas wrote the decision. Lucas, an appointee of former Republican Governor George Deukmejian, seemed to wreck their careers with such relish, such ... *enthusiasm.*

In his October 1991 opinion, Lucas wrote that the measure should be upheld because it guarded against a "dynastic legislative bureaucracy." And he quoted extensively from arguments by the proposition's backers, appearing to endorse their view that "the measure will free the entire process from the control of assertedly entrenched, apathetic, veteran incumbents, thereby allowing fresh creative energies to flourish free of vested, self-serving interests."

Veteran Court observer Gerald Uelmen, dean of the Santa Clara University Law School, criticized the decision as poorly reasoned and impolitic. "He seemed to go out of his way to rub salt in their wounds," he said.

Legislators from both parties agreed. Even Senator Nicholas Petris, an Oakland Democrat and a loyal ally of the judiciary, called the decision "arrogant."

"Every guy that's been here more than six years resented his reference to apathetic incumbents," said Petris, a 34-year veteran of the Legislature.

But legislators didn't just get mad. They got even. Four

Bill Ainsworth is a Capitol reporter for the San Francisco Recorder.

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months later, the first Assembly committee to review the high Court's budget chopped 38 percent off the top — precisely the same reduction imposed on the Legislature by Proposition 140.

The subcommittee's action, reportedly ordered by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr., was the opening day in a season of revenge against the Supreme Court. As the session wore on, the two branches of government quietly engaged in a bitter struggle over money and power.

Although the judiciary eventually emerged unscathed, the dispute raised a troubling question about judicial independence. Can the Court be unbiased in its rulings if it knows that a decision against the Legislature could jeopardize its own funding?

The roots of the struggle can be traced to November 1990, when anti-tax crusaders, led by Los Angeles County Supervisor Peter Schabarum, convinced voters that Proposition 140 would strike a blow at professional politicians in the Capitol. Under the measure, Assembly members can serve only three two-year terms. State constitutional officers (except the insurance commissioner) and senators can serve only two four-year terms.

After Proposition 140 passed by a narrow, 52-to-48 percent margin, legislators from both parties quickly looked to the Court for salvation. In a three-month private fund-raising campaign, they raised the $500,000 needed to retain top political lawyer Joseph Remcho and his San Francisco firm of Remcho, Johansen & Purcell.

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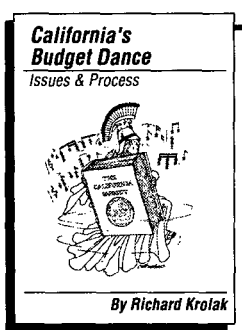

California's Budget Dance Issues and Process

By Richard Krolak

California's $60 billion budget is where the action is when it comes to programs and policy in the nation's largest state. Education, taxation, environmental protection, transportation, social services, local government support — you name it and the budget addresses it.

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Once before Remcho had worked his magic to save the Legislature from a similar measure. In 1984 he convinced the courts to toss out Proposition 24 on a technicality. The measure cut the Legislature's budget and rewrote its internal rules.

Supporters of the term-limit initiative turned for help to their ideological soulmates, the conservative Pacific Legal Foundation. The Sacramento-based foundation used the high-profile case to raise $140,000 to offset its costs.

Lawmakers argued that by limiting terms and slicing the Legislature's budget, the measure left the Legislature so weak that it was at the mercy of the executive branch. That shift in the balance of power, they argued, was an improper revision of the state Constitution. A ballot measure can amend but not revise the Constitution.

But the Supreme Court headed by Malcolm Lucas was very different than the one which rendered the favorable decision in 1984. The chief justice back then was Rose Bird, a Jerry Brown appointee who lost her confirmation battle in 1986 and took two other liberal justices down with her. Their replacements, named by Deukmejian, were less inclined to be friendly to Democratic lawmakers.

In the Proposition 140 decision, Lucas dismissed legislative fears as "largely speculative," saying the budget cuts would not take away any of the Legislature's powers. When legislators began reviewing the Court's budget at the start of the next legislative session, they decided to apply Lucas' reasoning to his own institution.

After all, the budget of the Supreme Court had risen dramatically in the past six years. Its proposed budget for 1992-93 of $17.1 million represented an 8 percent increase from the previous year's budget of $15.8 million and a 56 percent increase from the 1987-88 budget of $10.99 million. The budget for the Court's administrative arm, the Judicial Council, had grown at a faster pace, rising from $18 million to a proposed $31 million. Court officials said the growth reflected increased duties, many of them mandated by legislation, and a rising caseload.

In his Proposition 140 decision, Lucas had seemed to question the Legislature's need for an 838 percent budget increase since 1968. But the Court's own budget had grown by 1114 percent in that same time period. Many legislators decided that Lucas could take some of his own medicine.

In March, three members of an Assembly subcommittee defiantly voted to cut the Supreme Court's proposed budget by 38 percent, excluding the $4.4 million spent on defending poor people. "They've never taken any budget cuts and they seem to think we can," said Republican Assemblywoman Cathie Wright of Simi Valley, who was on the subcommittee. "We all have to take some pain."

A day after the subcommittee's move, Lucas mounted a defense of the Court, saying he thought it was "inappropriate to kill the messenger" for upholding Proposition 140. He also borrowed some of the Legislature's legal arguments against the initiative, contending that the proposed cuts would disrupt and weaken the high Court.

Those arguments fell on deaf ears. Democratic Assemblyman Richard Polanco of Los Angeles quickly resumed the offensive, threatening to hit justices where they live. Polanco said he would lead an effort to save the state money by banishing the Supreme Court, now located in San Francisco, to a state building in Sacramento.

Assembly Speaker Brown quickly endorsed the plan,

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even though it meant moving the Court out of his own district. Ever since 1878, when it moved from Sacramento to San Francisco, the high Court had defied government code section 1060, which says the justices "shall keep their offices in the City of Sacramento."

Meanwhile, the Senate prepared its own counterattack. After a nine-hour hearing, a budget subcommittee voted to cut the Court's proposed budget by 30 percent. And it took an even bigger bite out of the Judicial Council, slashing its proposed budget by 34 percent.

Senator Dan McCorquodale, the San Jose Democrat who presided over the Senate hearing, denied his subcommittee's actions were motivated by revenge. "We didn't set out to say 'how can we sock it to the courts?'" he said. "We looked at an entity that hadn't been looked at for years."

In July, Democratic Senator Bill Lockyer of Hayward led another charge against the Court. Lockyer, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, helped convinced the Senate to pass a constitutional amendment that would have blocked the judiciary's power to undo budget cuts.

Legislators feared that even if they cut the Court's budget, the Court could invoke its constitutional powers to restore the funds. With strong backing from Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti of Los Angeles, the amendment got the two-thirds majority vote it needed to pass the Senate. But a coalition — including the judges' association, trial lawyers, state employees and welfare advocates — maneuvered to defeat the amendment in the Assembly Judiciary Committee.

The Legislature didn't limit its anger to the Supreme Court. On the last day of the session, two bills to cut judges' retirement pay sailed through the Legislature with just a handful of "no" votes. At one committee hearing, Democratic Assemblyman Dave Elder of Long Beach suggested eliminating judges' retirement, just as Proposition 140 had wiped out lawmakers' retirement. Legislators insisted the bills were aimed at cutting costs. California Judges Association President Michael Ullman said he was sure the bills were partly inspired by Proposition 140 anger.

Ultimately, the Court survived. Despite these threats of draconian budget cuts, sharp limits on Court power and banishment to Sacramento, the Supreme Court weathered the storm caused by its Proposition 140 decision with surprisingly little damage. In fact, it fared better than the rest of state government, which had to absorb $11 billion in cuts.

During the record 64-day budget stalemate, Governor Pete Wilson served as a formidable ally of the judiciary, insisting that Court funds be preserved. His efforts paid off. In the final budget agreement, Wilson convinced legislative leaders to cut the Court's budget by only 10 percent from its original request and 2.5 percent from the $15.8 million it received last year. Similarly, the Judicial Council received only a 4.4 percent cut from last year, from $27.1 million to $25.9 million.

Last-minute lobbying by judges, including Chief Justice Lucas, convinced Wilson to veto the two bills that would have reduced judicial retirement benefits.

Lawyers also came to the aid of the courts. Both the State Bar and the Los Angeles County Bar Association wrote letters opposing the proposed cuts. Judge Ullman, however, viewed these actions as too little too late. At the October convention of the State Bar, he criticized lawyers for the "decision to abdicate to others the preservation of the judiciary," setting off a dispute between the bar and the bench.

Retired Long Beach engineer Richard Millan, however, did not abdicate his responsibility. The plight of the courts inspired him to submit a ballot measure that would guarantee the budget of the Supreme Court and the appellate courts at their current funding level. He aims to put it on the June 1994 ballot.

Even though courts did not ultimately suffer from the Legislature's desire for revenge, some lawyers and legal scholars fear that the threats of retaliation could make judges shy about writing decisions that defy the Legislature.

Lucas recognized the problem at a speech to the State Bar convention, warning of the important need to keep the judiciary "free from fear of fiscal retribution for deciding cases in a particular way."

Richard Chernick, president of the Los Angeles County Bar Association, agreed. "It's like the alligator in the bathtub," he said. "You can claim that you're not looking at it when you're taking a bath. But it's hard to ignore."

Several legal scholars say they do not believe the judiciary will change its ways as a result of the dispute. But to make sure, Chernick plans to form an independent advocacy group on behalf of the courts. His goal is to gain support and funding from law firms, business, consumers and labor. New York already has such a lobby.

"We have a strong and independent judiciary," Chernick said, "and I want to keep it that way."

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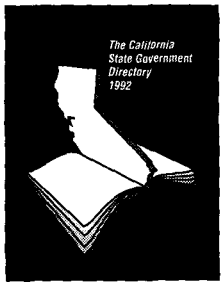

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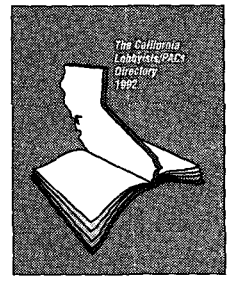

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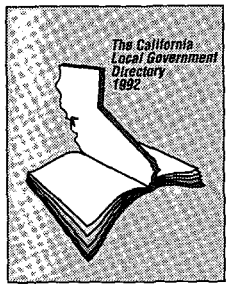

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More cuts, closures on the way?

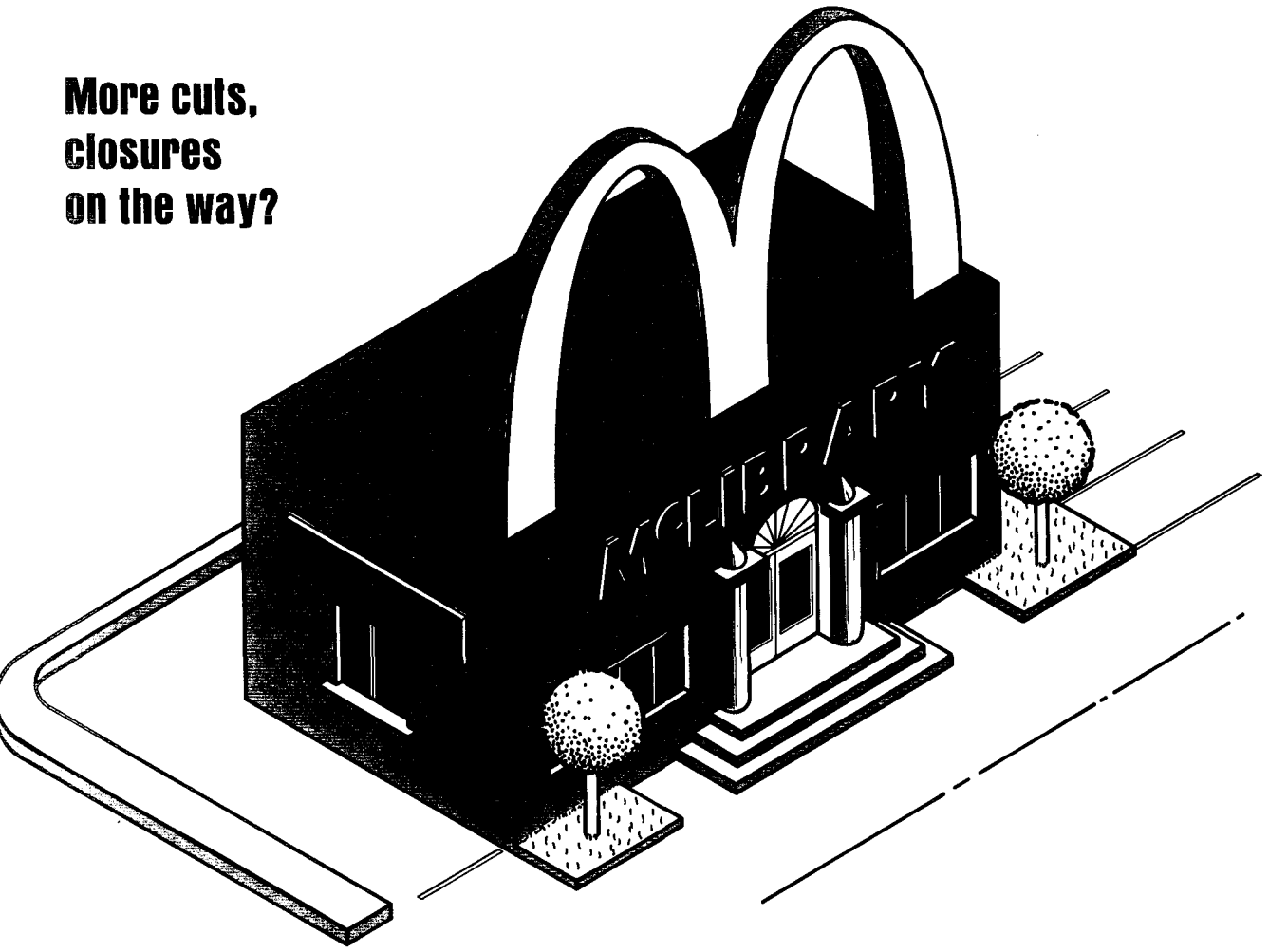

illustration by Rob Wilson

The state's libraries struggle to do more with less

By Elizabeth Schilling

Libraries, along with other public services, have taken their share of budget hits in recent years. Rural residents, such as those in Mendocino and Shasta counties, endure peri odic closures of their entire library systems. Urban and suburban residents everywhere are losing their neighborhood libraries. And while traditional library users are seeing the doors close, many librarians feel that even more alarming is the fact that most immigrant groups have never developed the habit of going through library doors in the first place.

"Libraries are the underpinning of our democracy," contends state Librarian Gary Strong. "They help with the business of life-long learning and getting along in our society. Yet libraries are taken for granted and viewed as non-essential when it comes to cutting a budget."

Libraries have had to do more with less, but not less of everything: A truckload of social problems has been dumped on the doorsteps of the state's 700 libraries, according to Anne Turner, director of libraries for the Santa Cruz city-county system.

"In many cases, libraries are left to be the only symbol of government presence in a neighborhood," Turner explains. "If there is no shelter, we must take care of the homelesss. If an after-school program is cut, we become the drop-off point. As schools eliminate their libraries, we pick up the slack — and we do it all without being given another penny."

As a result, libraries have exercised astonishing creativity to do more with less. Volunteers record oral histories; computers help readers reserve books; and in Los Angeles County, a compact disc connected to a fax machine delivers magazine pages to far-flung library branches.

"People's information needs are no longer confined to just books," adds Turner. "Based on people's requests, we provide everything from gardening videos to college cata-

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Elizabeth Schilling is a freelance writer from Santa Cruz.

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logs. Others need employment seminars or large-print books. As society changes, our definition of information needs to get broader."

And exactly which language should be used to respond to requests is another dilemma before librarians. In addition to English, large cities such as San Francisco have substantial collections in Spanish and Chinese.

"Serving multiple cultures is a growing challenge," says Neel Parikh, chief of branches with the San Francisco Public Library, which has had its budget cut $1 million annually since 1988. "We experiment in downgrading our service. We've cut hours, hired para-professionals and converted full library branches to 'reading centers.'"

> "How many libraries do we have? Now, that's a tricky question. This morning we had 92; effective Monday we'll have 83."
>
> — *Sandra Reuben, Head Librarian Los Angeles County*

Meanwhile in Berkeley, where residents twice approved a tax to fund their libraries, the current best-sellers had better be ready and waiting when readers come looking.

"We enjoy the best support of any library in California. This is both a blessing and a curse," says Regina Minudri, director of library services for the city of Berkeley. "Because citizens are aware of how much they pay, they like to see where their money goes."

Berkeley residents know exactly what they contribute to their library because an assessment appears on their tax bill. Voters first approved an assessment in 1980 when Proposition 13 cutbacks began to erode their library services. To avoid a direct property tax, the city council devised a building assessment: For each square foot of structure, residences were assessed three-and-a-half cents and commercial buildings six-and-a-half cents. The referendum was approved with a 70 percent majority.

Despite the community's good intentions, the tax proved insufficicent by the second year. "We miscalculated," says Minudri. "No one had ever done anything like this before and we had no idea so much of the city was of tax-exempt status."

Luckily, voters were understanding. In 1988 they approved an increase to seven cents for residences and 11 cents for commercial structures.

Minudri, past president of the American Library Association, predicts such assessments will be the future lifeblood for many libraries. Besides directing her system, Minudri currently is consulting with 12 jurisdictions around the state where library referendums are being considered.

"I recommend the assessment only under certain circumstances. It worked in Berkeley because it's a wonderful, crazy community packed into 10-square miles," says Minudri.

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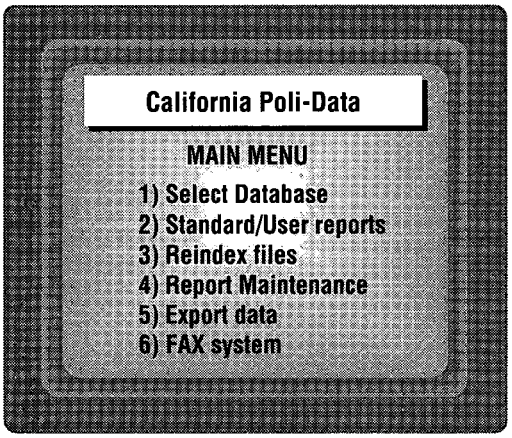

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All of California's 168 library jurisdictions have been on their own to endure cuts as they feel the impact of Propostion 13. Unlike other public services, libraries are unable to impose or increase user fees. Libraries are even worse off than health services, says Turner, since such agencies can still find federal grants. Overall, the state contributes only 2 percent to local libraries. Most systems are still reeling from last year's cuts under AB 8, which took $1.3 billion from local governments and special districts and shifted it to schools.

The 1993-94 budget year threatens deeper cuts. Conservative estimates predict that libraries throughout the state will loose upwards of $60 million. To make matters worse, Governor Pete Wilson is expected to fully eliminate the Public Library Foundation, which last year gave libraries a token $10 million.

Librarians are adapting by working more closely together. They're advising each other on technology and sharing regional resources. A soon-to-be-released report produced by a statewide coaliton of librarians and the California Library Association will offer an agenda on how to cope with what looks to be a dismal future. The coalition, which has met for four years, has studied everything from the use of school libraries to the formation of special districts.

Sandra Reuben, head librarian in Los Angeles County, says that last year, $10.2 million was slashed from her budget of $70 million. Of the 88 cities that make up the Los Angeles area, her system serves the 55 unincorporated ones. The massive area includes all socio-economic groups and more than 50 minority populations. The Los Angeles riots closed 34 of the system's branches for a week or more.

"How many libraries do we have? Now, that's a tricky question," Reuben said during a November interview immediately following a public hearing on library services. "This morning we had 92; effective Monday we'll have 83."

The closures were the results of county general fund deficits for 1992. "Now I'll hold my breath for another six months until we see how bad 1993 will be," says Reuben. "Proposals already on the table say our library funds could be cut by 50 percent."

Library users will have to "get beyond dependence on a building," adds Reuben. "We could never do without buildings, but technology can add to this traditional need. The upcoming switch will be similar to banks going to ATMs. It will take the public a while to adjust, but then they may find that they like their new libraries even better."

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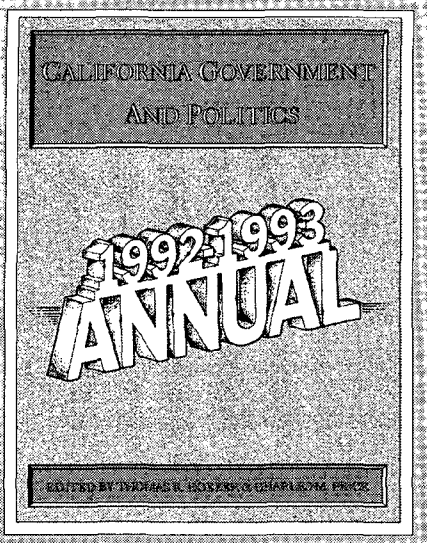

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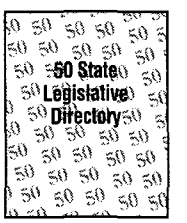

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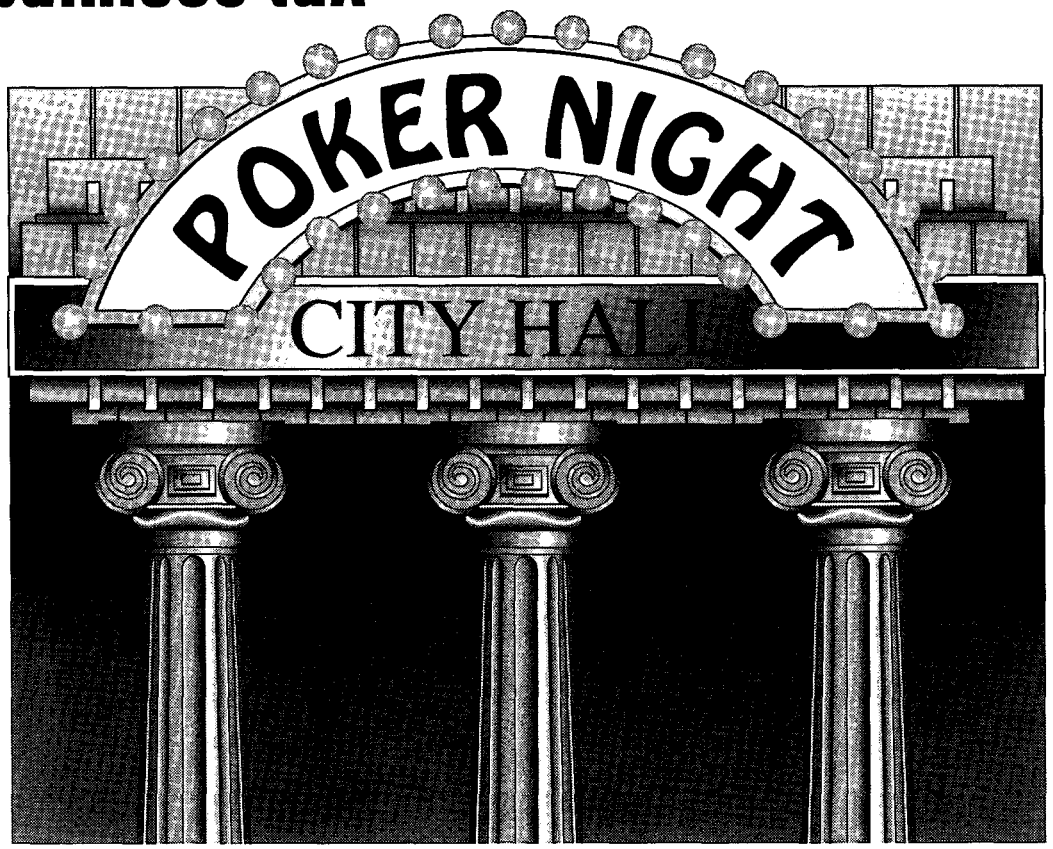

illustration by Lynwood Montgomery

Card clubs mean money for cities. Do they also mean trouble?

By Sandra Sutphen

So, if you are a city, how do you come up with a "painless tax?" With the state no longer able to provide cities with bail-out money, and with a two-year recession stubbornly clinging onto the California economy, local governments are on a renewed search to find sources of income that don't make voters mad and don't add to the inhospitable business climate. For five communities in Los Angeles County, one solution is poker. In some cases, card clubs mean from 15 percent to close to 40 percent of municipal revenues. For these cities, income from legalized gambling is proving a practically perfect revenue source. The income is given "voluntarily" by poker players, the taxes are "recession-proof," and any increased costs to the cities are more than offset by the increased revenues.

The California Constitution makes legalized gambling on card games a local government option. According to the Gaming Registration Unit of the Division of Law Enforcement in the state attorney general's office, there are more than 280 card rooms in California. The vast majority are small establishments of six or eight tables. Thanks to a 1984 law authored by former Democratic Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento, the decision to open a card club must be placed on a public referendum, and monitoring of establishments is shared by the state and the municipality.

In most communties, regulation of clubs is tightly controlled by local ordinances, which specify not only the types of games that can be played but the placement and size of tables, the club's location in the community, whether or not alcohol may be served at the tables, as well as the *raison d'etre* of the clubs for local governments — the amount of fees and taxes the clubs pay. Card club owners and investors must undergo a background check by the state, with $500 paid to the state to offset its investigative costs, as well as yearly renewals ranging from $200 to $500. The state shares its information with local government.

The clubs make their money by renting seats to players, usually on an hourly basis. Clubs may also take a percentage of the betting pool (particularly lucrative if the club hosts large tournaments). Revenues for cities usually are based on relatively hefty license fees collected periodically (quarterly, sometimes monthly) in addition to a percentage of the seat-rental income. Transactions are closely monitored, particularly in the larger clubs where video cameras may be employed to scan the tables.

Card clubs have existed in Southern California counties for years, from Riverside County where the Sahara

Sandra Sutphen is chair of the department of political science at California State University, Fullerton.

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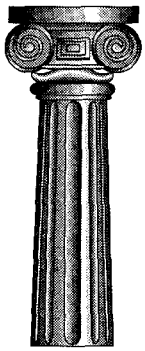
Dunes Casino in Lake Elsinore attracts mostly local residents, to Orange County where the sole card club in Anaheim closed its doors years ago. Clubs in Los Angeles County are concentrated in Gardena and thrived for more than 40 years without attracting much public attention. These clubs were medium sized (20 to 40 tables); the revenues to the city were substantial (25 percent of the local budget) but modest enough to excite little interest. All that changed in the 1980s when, nearly simultaneously and within easy driving distance of each other, clubs opened in Commerce, Bell and Bell Gardens.



IN BELL GARDENS, THE BICYCLE CLUB PROVIDES OVER 30 PERCENT OF THE CITY'S REVENUES, OR BETWEEN $6 AND $7 MILLION DOLLARS.

These new clubs were a far cry from the gloomy, rather threadbare places which characterized the Gardena establishments. All were situated "freeway close" and easily accessible. The Commerce Club in particular, with its rather garish facade, was a freeway landmark. And it was huge, with 130 tables, full restaurants and bars, and a light, open atmosphere. The Bicycle Club which opened in Bell Gardens was also big, new and fancy, and its restaurant became an attraction even for non-poker players (one city official claimed it had the best lunch in town).

In addition to their relatively lavish facilities, the new clubs were also able to expand the kinds of card games played. Older clubs were restricted by the state Constitution to games of "skill," which were defined rather narrowly by the law. These included draw (but not stud) poker, panquinque ("pan" is a form of rummy), "Texas Hold'em," and hi-ball or lo-ball, all of which are forms of poker. Games of "chance" — stud poker was considered such — were outlawed, as were several games identified specifically as blackjack ("21"). Card club owners took these restrictions to court and lobbied the Legislature to expand the definition of games which could be played, and eventually succeeded in both arenas.

The most successful innovation for the new clubs was the introduction of the so-called "Asian" games. Originally played with tiles, similar to dominoes, the Asian games included variants of pai gow; translating the rules so that the games could be played with cards expanded their appeal. The "Asian" games now include pai gow, pai gow poker (also known as "Asian" poker), super pan nine and Asian stud. With the influx of Asian immigrants to Southern California, a new market stood ready to be tapped. Within a few years, there was a noticeable shift in the demographics of the card players, and before long, even the clubs in Gardena were setting aside rooms for Asian games. This year, club owners reported that more than two-thirds of their revenue was coming from the Asian games, which were being enjoyed by a wide spectrum of players, as well as by the original Asian clientele.

The expansion of tournaments and high stakes games also proved lucrative for the clubs. The usual bets at most clubs were small, with one and two dollar bets the rule. For an eight or 10 person table, the pots were relatively small. Higher stakes games are allowed (with correspondingly higher seat rentals). However, most local ordinances provided for much larger limits when tournaments were held. The Bicycle Club sponsors tournaments where world champion poker players demonstrate their skills, and where championship poker tournaments involve pots running into six figures. Some clubs have special high stakes rooms where bets in the thousands of dollars are permitted.

The new clubs provided too much competition for the six older facilities in Gardena. Four closed down, and the city's revenues from the clubs fell until they provided only 15 percent of the budget. After a few years, the two remaining clubs began to woo back some of their customers by expanding their games and facilities and advertising "Las Vegas style" shows. The remaining clubs now contribute a rather steady and predictable $5 million for the city of Gardena.

Revenues to some other cities far exceed these. From its $75 million revenues, the Commerce Club contributes over $10 million to the city treasury, most of which goes to the city's law-enforcement budget (as stated by ordinance), leaving the city free to spend other resources on such luxuries as free transportation for its senior citizens. The club's revenues account for nearly 35 percent of the city's budget. In Bell Gardens, the Bicycle Club provides over 30 percent of the city's revenues, or between $6 and $7 million dollars. In both cities, the revenues have remained stable even during these recession years.

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Revenues in both Bell and Huntington Park are lower, and for other reasons, less stable.

Both potential investors and local officials are looking for other possible locations for clubs, but efforts locally in the past three years have all met with failure. The cities of Stanton, Westminster, West Hollywood, South Gate and Cathedral City have voted down proposals. A proposal to the city of Cypress to include a card club along with the upgrading and expansion of Los Alamitos racetrack and golf course has not made it through the city council. R.D. Hubbard has proposed turning the under-utilized Cary Grant Pavilion at Hollywood Race Track into a card club, but that proposal is still in the process of formulation. Proposals are also circulating in cities scattered throughout the state, although the new requirement for a public referendum may hamper some potential investors. Nevertheless, Tony Vieira, revenue officer for the city of Gardena, says that he is receiving more and more telephone inquiries from both potential investors nad cities seeking to duplicate the "painless" revenue-raising ability of card clubs.

When voters consider the referendum proposals, they are confronted with predictable arguments from opponents of gambling. There is the "immorality" argument, usually propounded by religious groups who say gambling in any form is a sin, an unconscionable temptation and a further symptom of societal degradation. A second argument maintains that the presence of a card club will lead to increased associated crimes such as prostitution, loan sharking, and robberies.

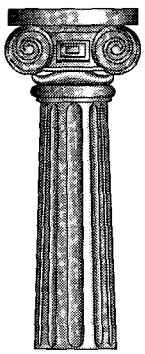
These arguments are persuasive, de spite evidence that most cities with clubs do not experience any lasting increase in club-related crime. A survey of police and local officials in all five Los Angeles County cities found universal agreement that the card clubs do not raise law-enforcement costs. According to the *Orange County Register*, Bell Gardens police say that the force responded "more to grocery stores and taverns" than to the Bicycle Club. Data compiled from the California Crime Index and the Federal Bureau of Investigation shows that felony crimes increased less than 1 percent in the two years following the opening of the club in Bell Gardens, and increased in the first year (by slightly more than 1 percent), but decreased the year after that when the club opened in Commerce.

Felony crimes may not increase as a result of the clubs but citizens may still be right to suspect a danger in their community. With the exception of Gardena, every club in Los Angeles County has provided irresistible temptations for white-collar crime, resulting in indictments and in some cases jail terms for city officials or others connected to the clubs. In 1985 the Bell city administrator was sentenced to six months in prison for accepting a secret ownership share in the club in return for getting the club established in the city. The Bicycle Club is in federal receivership after federal officials proved that a portion of the club's investment came from laundered drug money. Three members of the Commerce City Council were convicted of conflict-of-interest violations with respect to the club, and currently, three members of the Huntington Park City Council are under investigation for profit-skimming at the Huntington Park Casino.

Profits from the clubs are clearly too alluring to keep some local officials honest, but a larger danger to cities may lie in their dependence on a single source of revenue. When the Bell club opened in 1980, its revenues accounted for 40 to 60 percent of the city budget. Through a series of "misadventures," the club was forced to close down five years later. All the revenue to the city stopped. The club re-opened briefly, shut down again, and is only now beginning to be successful. During that time, the city has been forced to seek revenue elsewhere, and when 40 percent of the budget is gone, even the most creative fiscal expert is distinctly disadvantaged. A natural disaster such as a fire could prove devastating to those cities which rely heavily on a single source of revenue. As one local finance officer said, "I hope the City of Commerce has a real efficient fire department."

In short, card clubs have proven to be successful and recession-proof sources of income for several cities in the Los Angeles area, but they are not without significant drawbacks. However, in a community where revenue sources are diversified and where a convenient, accessible location exists, card clubs might prove the painless revenue raising panacea which delight a revenue officer's pocketbook.

PROFITS FROM THE CLUBS ARE CLEARLY TOO ALLURING TO KEEP SOME LOCAL OFFICIALS HONEST, BUT A LARGER DANGER TO CITIES MAY LIE IN THEIR DEPENDENCE ON A SINGLE SOURCE OF REVENUE.



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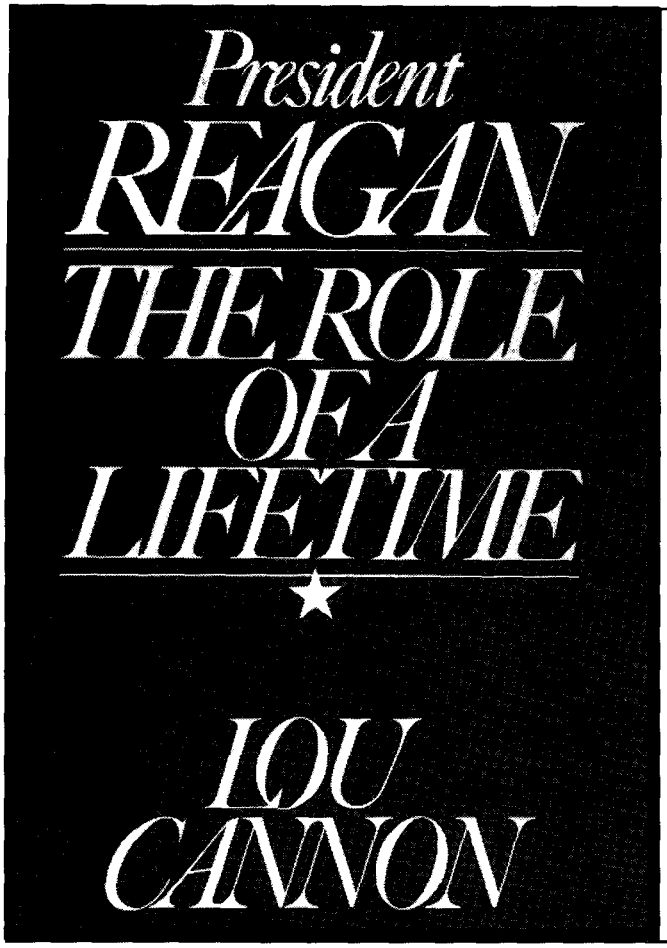

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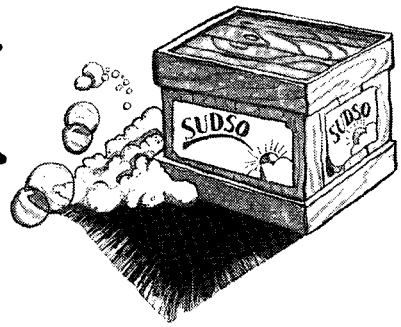
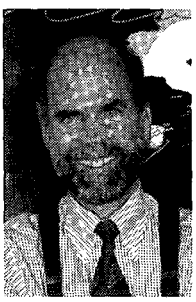


"Winning" the War on Drugs

By Andrew Mecca, PhD



Recently, some California newspaper editors and reporters told me that as far as their readers were concerned, the war on drugs was over. Actually, the words they used were "passe" and "no longer very interesting," but the message was the same: Once Americans hear about something long enough, they reach a point of saturation. In other words, we grow to accept that there is a war going on somewhere, but since we feel as though it has no direct impact on out life, we choose to ignore (or accept) the war's existence. We may even assume that the war ended.

This sense of remoteness — an almost helpless indifference — was what many Americans say they first felt during the Vietnam War, in which I served as administrator of the United States Army's Drug Treatment Program. In that war, I saw firsthand the horrors of enemies without and enemies within. I strongly believe that the war on drugs may offer up some of the same lingering, murky questions about hows and whys; but at least this time around, we seem to know a little more about the enemy. And it may be us, Pogo.

No, we are not the drug lords, Colombian cartels nor the street pushers; but we are the ones who believed that to "just say No" was as far as intervention programs went or needed to go. We know there were serious intentions behind the sloganeering; and now-expanded education programs that answer the "why" and "how" to say "no" are showing results in decreased use of illicit drugs among American youth.

Some of those results are starting to inspire an attitudinal shift in Washington, DC, where, until recently, nearly three-fourths of the federal war-on-drugs budget was spent on law enforcement and interdiction, and a third of that money went toward out-of-country crop eradication. In short, we were concentrating on supply rather than on demand — perhaps because the only ones responsible for demand are ourselves, and we simply don't like to be hard on ourselves collectively, in this country.

Yet it is on the "home front" where reducing the demand for drugs and emphasizing prevention and treatment are starting to give us a glimpse of that fabled light at the end of the tunnel. In their new alcohol and drug budgets, the Bush administration and Congress are allocating 2 percent more for prevention and treatment programs this year than last. That may not sound like much, but it amounts to an additional $260 million being spent on reducing demand in the United States.

This attitudinal shift mirrors California's own "home front" strategy, led by Governor Pete Wilson, an approach that we hope will spread across the nation. We have maintained that local responsibility and authority are essential to the overall strategy for breaking the stranglehold drug usage has thrown over our communities. Our goal is to effect an actual (and measurable) 5 percent annual reduction in problems associated with the abuse of alcohol and other drugs in California.

The trouble with our goal-setting, of course, is that it sets us up for disappointment. As Americans, we are used to quick success, and anything that requires months and years of follow-through loses the public's interest and support. Yet society also is quick to shift its attention if we claim success too quickly or to pronounce a project finished before it truly is.

Two prime examples of this:

- When the United States disengaged from Southeast Asia, the killing escalated by 400 percent in Cambodia, yet it was rarely covered by the press, and it was consequently not in the range of public interest.
- The "Live Aid" concert drew our attention to the drought in Africa, but the press lost interest and public concern dwindled, even though drought and starvation subsequently grew to record levels.

So how can we get your interest back in the "war on drugs"? If alarming statistics will not do it, maybe some "good news" will. There actually is something wonderful happening across the country right now, something that offers concrete hope rather than merely soggy statistics. In San Francisco, for example, a recent newspaper story talked about coalitions, churches and individual citizens who are taking action and, more important, making an impact.

- A group of citizens calling themselves "Just Us" keeps watch on known drug-dealing spots in East Palo Alto.
- A community coalition in South Central Los Angeles is developing alternative, lucrative business ideas for owners

---

Andrew Mecca, who holds a doctorate in Public Health, is the director of the state Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs. He directed the Army's drug-treatment program in Vietnam, for which he was awarded the Bronze Star.

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of liquor stores that burned in the fires of the Los Angeles violence.

• A church in the San Francisco inner city has started a Spanish-singing children's choir that rehearses three nights a week. The major complaint? The kids want to practice more often.

And there are other success stories. In Sacramento, an apartment complex, once controlled by gangs, is now a "gun and drug free" community where the residents are helping each other to rebuild their lives.

These are not miracles, nor are they isolated. What is being reported reflects four very important changes in the war on drugs.

First, government is beginning to take a different role. In California, we are becoming, in essence, a venture capitialist for people wishing to take action on behalf of their family and their community. We are allocating our funding on a 50-50 basis: half for enforcement and half for demand reduction. And the half that goes for demand reduction is largely being directed at the community level. It is not being spent by "experts," removed from the reality of the problem. For example, this year, the governor allocated $23 million in response to the citizens' call for help for pregnant women abusing alcohol and drugs. This perinatal assistance went directly to counties to administer.

Second, people are participating. As the "war on drugs" drags on, it has become obvious that only the human spirit can effect the kind of change we need. Money and programs, by themselves, cannot. Californians and other Americans are taking the initiative that a democracy requires to be sustained. For example, over one million teens are currently involved in Friday Night Live and Club Live programs of involvement that promote a healthy life-style. These programs are operated by parents, teachers and local coordinators in 54 of our 58 counties.

Third, we are beginning to measure results. In California, in the next few years, we will spend $10 million to better understand the sources and demographics of the problem, and to discern the effectiveness of our programs. We are going to give our citizens the tools to manage this problem to its knees.

And finally, the media is seeing substance abuse in the larger context of social health. As popular (and, tragically, as accurate) as it might have been to run bloody headlines and statistics day after day, it does appear that the good news can be told without denying reality. This might be the most important shift of all, for it lets us all know that we are not alone and that everyday heroes are every bit as common as everyday thugs.

So the war has not ended. However, the focus of the battle is shifting. Prevention, treatment and recovery strategies are beginning to balance our continuing enforcement efforts. This is reconstruction, a long-term propostion that builds, in the end, a national community, and California will be at the front of it. We want our leadership to be judged by saved lives, reclaimed lives and by the ability of California citizens to sustain progress, and, ultimately, eliminate the need for the State Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs.

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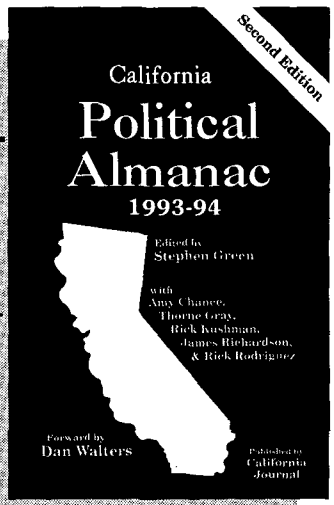

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California's film industry beats the recession

By Bénédicte Raybaud and Danielle Starkey

California and the film industry. Since the 1920s, California and movies have been two sides of the same coin. Into the 1990s, the relationship continues. Jobs in some industries may be moving out of California, but not the film industry. Nor does the industry's impact on politics seem to be waning. In fact, some might argue that filmland's impact on national politics reached a sublime stage in 1992 — or ludicrous, depending on one's point of view — with the "squabble" between Vice President Dan Quayle and a fictional television character named "Murphy Brown."

California not only dominates the nation's film industry, it has earned the title of film production capital of the world. California-based studios and independent producers generate nearly three-fourths of all U.S feature film and video productions, and in 1990 these films were made at a cost approaching $8.2 billion — or three times the total of 1980.

Last year, 192 movies were entirely or partly filmed in California, while 58 were made in New York, California's closest American competitor. Currently, almost 90 percent of all television series and other prime-time shows are made in California, and the advertising industry, in large part based in Chicago and New York, is growing more and more interested in California's resources.

Moreover, the film industry provides more than 90,000 jobs in California, or about 60 percent of U.S film industry jobs. In other words, with payrolls of $4.94 billion, the movies constitute one of the California's vital sources of income and economic growth.

Other states eye hungrily this revenue source. There are more than 200 film commissions outside of California actively courting film production companies and touting the fact that production costs can be substantially cheaper outside the state. For instance, a few years ago, the favorable exchange rate of the Canadian dollar prompted many filmmakers to produce their films there, saving as much as 35 percent in production costs. Today, exchange rates are not so favorable. As a result, California has regained its large market share.

The California Film Commission (formerly the Film and Video Office) was created in 1985 once the state realized the economic importance of the film industry. Established within the Department of Commerce, the commission's goal was "to retain and attract film production in California." Fully funded by the state, the CFC has an annual budget of about $850,000.

"Compared to other film commissions, [that amount] certainly is substantial, but it is considered by the state an investment in which they believe they get a major return," says Patti Stolkin Archuletta, who was appointed director of the CFC by Governor Pete Wilson last January. "It was clear that the administration, the governor, the Department of Commerce all viewed the California Film Commission almost like an actual office of economic development [that] promotes business in the state."

Despite her political appointment, Archuletta, who's

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been the Southern California coordinator of California Republicans for Choice since 1989, denies that the film commission was created to help specific politicians. Even though they gain strong backing from the entertainment industry, "That is not a conscious consideration whatsoever," Archuletta says. "In fact, this is a Republican administration, and historically [the film industry] is liberal. I suppose it would not be a motivation for a Republican governor to seek [political support from the entertainment industry] when 95 percent of them are not Republican," she adds.

But this year's election contributions show that the film industry provided significant support to both Republicans and Democrats. The Alliance of Motion Picture and TV producers, MCA, Paramount Pictures Corporation, and the Walt Disney Company gave a combined $133,905 to 158 Republican and Democratic candidates between January 1st and November 2nd of 1992. Contributors favored Democratic candidates, giving them $82,450. But Republican candidates received an average of $950, while their Democratic counterparts received an average of $790.

A bountiful source for contributions, the entertainment industry also is a source of publicity for politicians, especially when celebrities personally support their causes and campaigns. Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton often was seen on the arm of such Hollywood stars as Whoopi Goldberg and Ron Silver. President George Bush enjoyed the active support of, among others, Charlton Heston and Arnold Schwarzenegger. Thus, competition from other states for film-making dollars is a significant enough threat to prompt the creation of an office to protect the industry.

Production companies leave California because they feel it's too crowded and has too many legal restrictions. While Archuletta believes that most of these are companies' "perceptions" rather than reality, the film commission takes these perceptions very seriously, she says.

While California has unmatched scenery, including industrialized cities, country villages, northern redwood forests, a coastline, deserts and the agricultural heartland of the Central Valley, it also has problems that are a result of its own success. For example, because of the high volume of filming in the state, some production companies run away from California, looking for newness and for less crowded locations. And then there are the fees.

"I think the problem is that we have not done enough to encourage people to be reasonable in their fee structures," says Jim McCabe, a location manager who works for, among other companies, 20th Century Fox.

In order to make California more "filming friendly," and to ward off competition from other states, the CFC created the Location Research Library, which contains over 175,000 images and photographs on locations and services in the state. Lindsley Parsons Jr., chairman of the CFC board and executive producer of "Sneakers," says, "We know generally the type of things that we are looking for and we check out photos of available locations and take them and show them to our director. It saves us a tremendous amount of time instead of driving all over Southern California, looking for things that may not actually work because you have not seen them yet."

The CFC also is looking at various computer programs to digitize and basically convert the library to optical images on the computer. The computerization of the library would save users having to physically walk into the library and go through all the catalog and pictures. In 1991 the library had more than 2220 visitors.

Film Liaisons in California, Statewide (FLICS) is a professionally trained group with more than 40 members that helps the CFC and the film industry with location scouting and production coordination. Despite the economic advantages of on-location filming, some communities are reluctant to have filming in their area because of parking and traffic problems.

"I know it's hard for people if somebody is blocking their driveway," says Archuletta. But Californians don't seem to care that it's in the cause of producing revenues for their state. People in other states view filming as a "carnival" that everybody wants to watch, whereas Californians see it as an inconvenience for which they should be paid. "And it does become a problem when communities hold [the film] industry hostage," Archuletta says, stressing the reluctance communities have in accepting filming on their territory.

In order to educate people on what on-location production is all about, the CFC has undertaken several projects, including producing post cards with detachable 800-number stickers that anyone can call who has a question about filming in their community. A success story Archuletta mentions is the case of an Orange County councilman who was very interested in bringing filming to his community and was able to convince his peers that their community could benefit economically from it.

In addition, the CFC has been working on the improvement of the general climate for filmmaking in California, notably by trying to simplify the permit process. According to Archuletta, one of the major problems the state has is its weighty bureaucracy and its "over-regulation." An arbitrator between agencies, as it defines itself, the CFC works with jurisdictions and local governments to develop less restrictive and more standardized film permitting procedures, and to overcome the jurisdictions' overlaps. The permit process and the contact services, which the CFC provides, are the services that Parsons has been using the most.

McCabe also acknowledges the CFC's work and help. However, he would expect some improvements. "Ninety percent of the filming is done in Southern California. And I would like to be able to see the Film Commission in cooperation with other jurisdictions. I would like to see strides made in cutting down the red tape involved in the number of jurisdictions we have to go through to get filming done. In other words, [we need] a more standard approach to filming," he says.

California government also has contributed to the improvement of the filming climate throughout the Golden State. In January 1985 it eliminated location fees previously charged for the use of state property (such as freeways) for filming. Today, the CFC coordinates all filming on state-owned and operated property. In 1991 alone, the CFC issued more than 1300 permits. This figure represents a 203 percent increase over permits issued in 1984.

"The goal of the CFC is to recognize that the motion picture industry provides such a unique and significant contribution to the economy of California," Archuletta says. "[It also is to] perpetuate this industry and to constantly be looking for new ways to help facilitate production. [It] is to make the state more film friendly, [and] constantly to better balance the communities' needs and interests with the industry's needs and interests."

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

DiFi in D.C.

As Dianne Feinstein interviewed applicants for her new Senate staff recently, she recalled a piece of advice she got from a quintessential veteran of Capitol Hill, Walter Mondale.

"MONDALE SAID TO ME, 'THE BIGGEST MISTAKE you can make is not to hire your top people from the Hill. The second biggest mistake you can make is to hire badly from the Hill.'"

That Feinstein chose to live by such pragmatic advice underscores that she is intent on working the system in Washington, not raging against it, even though she indulged in some of last year's fashionable establishment-bashing in her successful campaign to unseat hapless Republican Senator John Seymour.

"You know me from way back," Feinstein told this reporter, who covered her two decades ago, when she played a starring role in the political soap opera that is the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. "You know I'm a team player."

That Feinstein got her tips on making it in the Senate from Mondale, the former vice president and ex-senator, underscores that the Democrat from California is not just another obscure freshman. She arrived in Washington not only with a small but precious head start on seniority — having assumed office as soon as she ousted the appointed Seymour — but also with a measurable advantage in stature over the year's other Senate newcomers.

In particular, the other three new women in the Senate start out with instant celebrity status and their own advantages: Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois is the first Black woman in the mostly male, mostly white Senate. Washington state's Patty Murray enjoys the anti-glamour appeal of her well-cultivated "mom in tennis shoes" image. California's Barbara Boxer has the experience and connections of her years in the House but also a combative, dogmatically liberal reputation.

But only Feinstein starts out with a well-established, largely favorable national image from her years as San Francisco mayor, her respectable if unsuccessful campaign for governor two years ago and her runner-up status in Mondale's search for a running mate in his 1984 presidential campaign.

"When you walk into a room with her, there's a certain celebrity stature, a presence that is attached to Dianne," said Kam Kuwata, her campaign manager and now the director of her Senate operations in California. Feinstein has a dignified, almost regal bearing that is especially likely to appeal to the aristocratic senior statesmen of the clubby Senate.

If so, the Senate elders are likely to toss Feinstein extra, early opportunities to carry significant legislation and to deliver floor speeches on major issues with full awareness that California voters have her on a short leash. From the moment she chose to run for the "two-year seat" in California's twin Senate races, Feinstein knew that she would have only a third of a normal Senate term to prove to her state's voters that she deserves re-election.

"I've been campaigning for four years. I had a good solid victory. People now know me up and down the state. I've been elected, and now I have to be back here and perform," Feinstein said.

"There is a challenge for Dianne to demonstrate that she can help solve problems," Kuwata said. "We understand that. There are going to be a few things that she wants to concentrate her time on."

Like Bill Clinton, Feinstein speaks most of all about ways to revitalize the economy. She has a priority list of business- and job-creating incentives, from a permanent research and development tax credit to "infrastructure" spending on public works.

She has a list of California issues as well, headed by the all-but-certain passage of environmentalist desert protection legislation that Seymour had blocked. Feinstein has hired Kathy Lacey, who was the top staff expert on that legislation for departing Senator Alan Cranston.

The rest of Feinstein's agenda may depend on the committee seats she wins as the new Congress convenes this month. She has been expecting to end up on the Judiciary Committee, whose chairman, Joseph Biden of Delaware, desperately needs a female member to help the panel recover from the debacle of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas hearings. If so, Feinstein can be counted on to push anti-crime legislation in keeping with her tough-on-crime inclinations. After all, as mayor, Feinstein, who has long supported the death penalty, liked to don a police jumpsuit from time to time or to put on a wig to go undercover on the mean streets with the S.F.P.D.

Feinstein lobbied even harder, however, to win a seat on the Appropriations Committee that decides where every federal cent is spent. "California has not had representation on that committee for 24 years, and there's a western slot," she said. But Feinstein's pitch to all-powerful Appropriations Chairman Robert C. Byrd, a West Virginia Democrat, was undercut by her campaign support for a presidential line-item veto, an idea that Byrd zealously opposes.

Feinstein has every intention of preserving her seemingly genuine new friendship with Boxer, a past political opponent. But her promise that they will serve as a hard-hitting "Thelma and Louise" for California will be tested by their very different styles and approaches.

"BARBARA IS CONSIDERABLY MORE LIBERAL THAN Dianne is," said Duane Garrett, the San Francisco lawyer-political insider-radio host who has served as an adviser and campaign chairman for both of the new senators. "Dianne is incredibly good at building coalitions and trying to forge workable solutions. I think Barbara will be more like a Teddy Kennedy in terms of pushing the envelope of social legislation."

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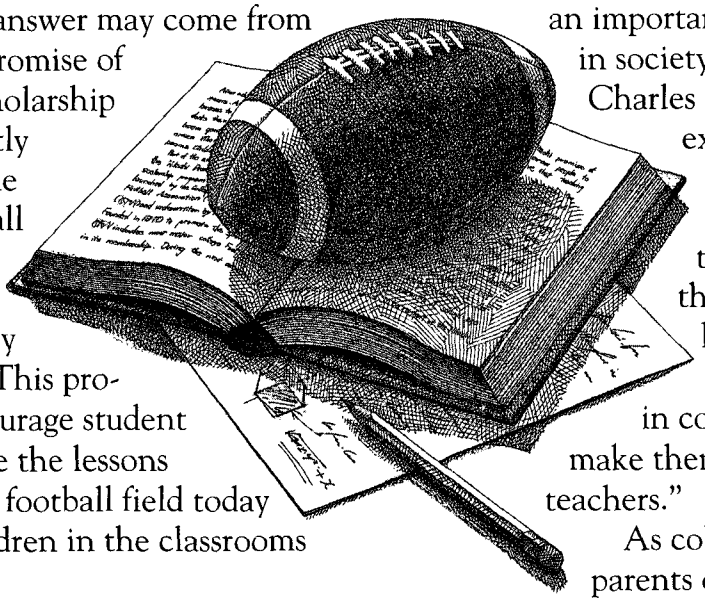
Turning Student Athletes Into Teachers

In the coming years, America's public school system must prepare to educate a new wave of students – the children of the baby boom generation. The U.S. Department of Education projects that from now until 2001, the demand for hiring public school teachers will increase by 18 percent. The question now arises: Who will teach the baby boomers' children?

Part of the answer may come from the "Hitachi Promise of Tomorrow" scholarship program recently launched by the College Football Association (CFA) and underwritten by Hitachi, Ltd. This program will encourage student athletes to take the lessons learned on the football field today and teach children in the classrooms tomorrow.



During the next academic year, the "Hitachi Promise of Tomorrow" program will award $335,000 in scholarships at the 67 CFA member universities. Eligible students include outstanding senior or graduate students who have participated in the college football program as players, trainers, or managers. Each recipient will use his or her $5,000 grant to continue postgraduate studies in education or to meet certification requirements for pursuing a teaching career.

The CFA hopes that the "Hitachi Promise of Tomorrow" program will encourage more young people to enter the teaching profession. "Teaching plays an important but undervalued role in society today," explains Charles M. Neinas, the CFA's executive director. "We'd like to encourage students to pursue this field, and think that the leadership, discipline, hard work and team spirit that students gain in college football will help make them effective classroom teachers."

As college football fans and parents of school-age children, we at Hitachi are proud to be part of the scholarship program. We believe that it will go a long way toward instilling pride in education and the profession of teaching.

For more information, write: Hitachi, P.O. Box 4319, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10017.

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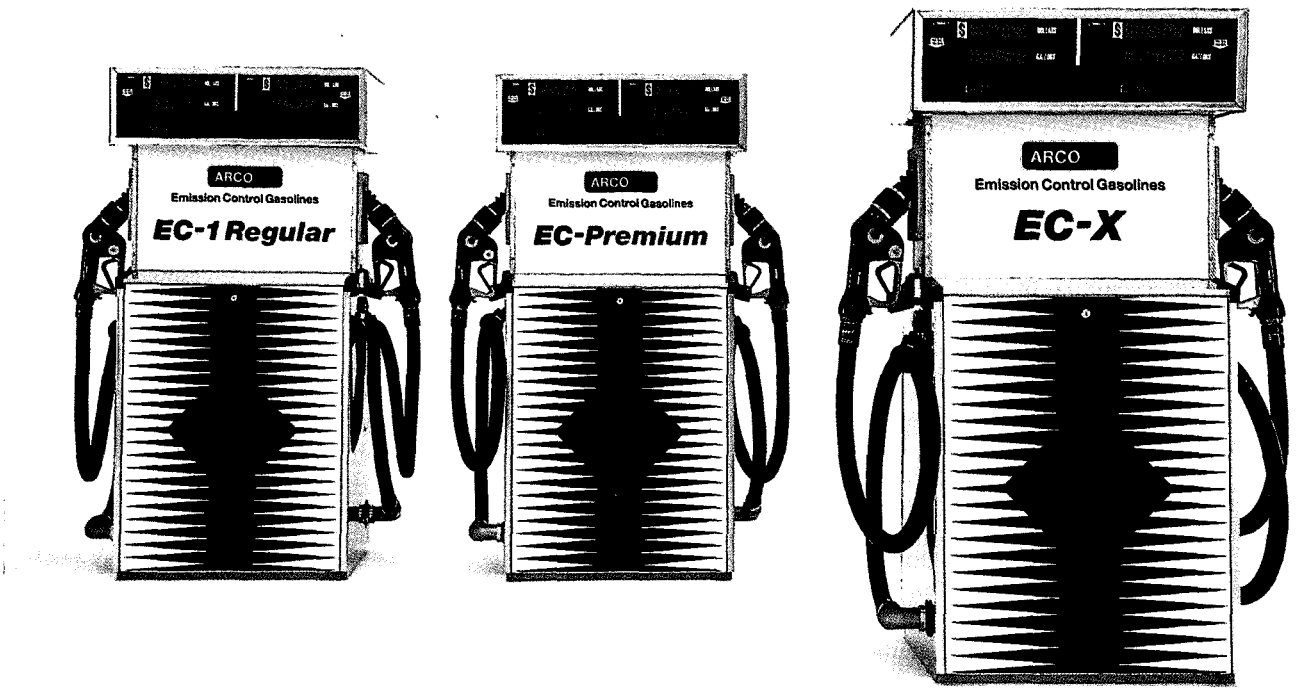

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